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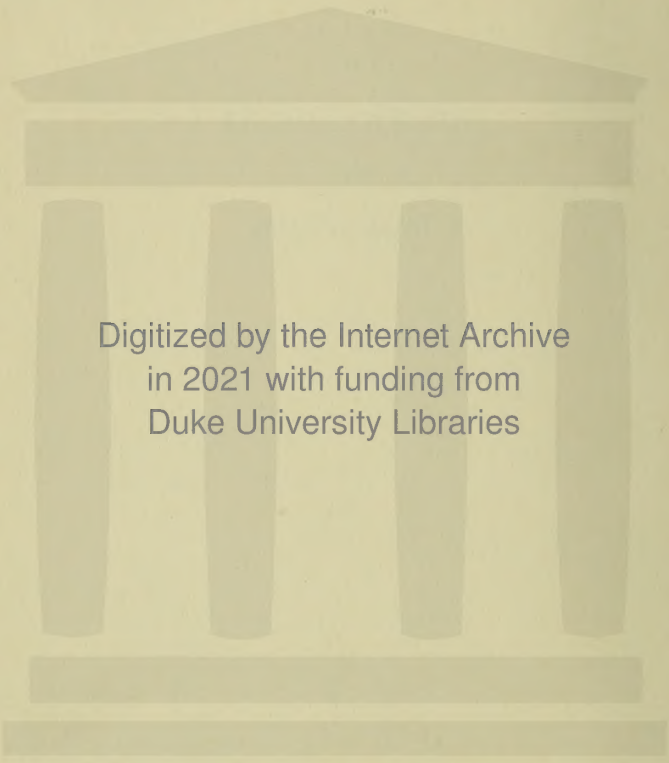
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THE MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON

1608

Edited with an INTRODUCTION and NOTES, and a reprint of *The Life and Death of the Merry Devil of Edmonton,* by T. B., 1631

by

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To

LILLIAN CROW ABRAMS

PREFACE

In preparing this critical edition of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* I have had the advantages of the recent notable progress in scientific bibliography, of ready access to the needed research materials, and, best of all, of generous aid from various Elizabethan scholars. Only so could I justify the reprint of a play that has already received much attention. In reproducing the original text, in the collations, and in all other matters of detail, I have tried to achieve accuracy; and yet I well know that in spite of the utmost care exercised some errors have escaped my detection. To the reader who may discover those errors, I submit the plea of Isaac Reed in the Preface of his edition of Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays:* "If ever thou wert an editor of such books, thou wilt have some compassion on my failings, being sensible of the toil of such sort of creatures; and, if thou art not yet an editor, I beg truce of thee until thou art one before thou censurest my endeavours."

The pleasant duty remains of expressing my gratitude to those who have generously aided me, always with kindness and often with much expenditure of their time. First of all, I wish to acknowledge my heavy indebtedness to Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, from whom came the original inspiration for this work as well as valuable assistance during its progress. To Dr. Giles E. Dawson, Dr. James G. McManaway, and Dr. Edwin E. Willoughby, also of the Folger Library, I am under unusually deep obligations for valuable aid in both literary and bibliographical problems.

To Mr. Leslie Edgar Bliss, Librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library, for permission to reprint *The Life and Death of the Merry Deuill of Edmonton;* to Professor Frank C. Brown, of Duke University, who, having first introduced me to Elizabethan drama, constantly helped me in the preparation of this edition; to Professor Edwin Nungezer, of Cornell University,

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who guided me in its early stages; to Professors Graydon Eggers, Gordon R. Wood, and J. Harold Wolfe, my colleagues, who assisted me in its later stages; and to President B. B. Dougherty, of Appalachian State Teachers College, who granted me a leave of absence from my college duties in order to complete it—to all I wish to express my gratitude.

W. A. A.

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THE
MERRY DEVIL
OF
EDMONTON

I

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF THE PLAY

Thomas Middleton is responsible for the two earliest[1] extant allusions to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.* The first appears in *The Black Book,* entered in the registers of the Stationers' Company on March 22, 1604,[2] and published the same year. The passage in question consists of advice to a gallant concerning an easy arrangement for a tryst with a young married woman:

> And being set out of the shop, with her man afore her, to quench the jealousy of her husband, she, by thy instructions, shall turn the honest, simple fellow off at the next turning, and give him leave to see The Merry Devil of Edmonton or A Woman Killed with Kindness,[3] when his mistress is going herself to the same murder.[4]

This allusion shows that the play was on the stage by 1604, and that it had already made a reputation for itself. *The Merry Devil* probably belonged to the Chamberlain's Company, since it is later found in the repertoire of the King's Men, the name which the Chamberlain's troupe assumed after James I came to the throne. If 1600-03 be not too late as the date[5] of its com-

[1] I am unable to accept F. G. Fleay's theory (*Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama,* II, 314) that the expression, "merry devil" (*The Merchant of Venice,* Act II, scene iii, l. 2), is an allusion to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.*

[2] Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of The Company of Stationers of London,* III, 256.

[3] Thomas Heywood's best tragedy, first acted 1603 and first published 1607.

[4] A. H. Bullen, *The Works of Thomas Middleton,* VIII, 35-36. It should be noted that at some date before March 14, 1604, Middleton and Dekker were engaged in writing *The Honest Whore* (W. W. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary,* II, 228); if Dekker is the author of *The Merry Devil,* as I believe to be the case, this allusion may be Middleton's way of praising his collaborator and friend. Cf. also F. P. Wilson, *Dekker's Plague Pamphlets,* pp. xix-xx, and A. V. Judges, *The Elizabethan Underworld,* pp. 508-509.

[5] Cf. below, pp. 28-36. For Fleay's discussion of date and first place of performance, see his *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama,* II, 313-314, and *Chron. Hist. of London Stage,* p. 154.

position, the play was first acted at the Globe Theatre on the Bankside.[6]

Middleton's second allusion appears in *A Mad World, My Masters* (1608), Act V, scene ii, lines 108-111:

What, will you have 'em stand still when they're up, like Smug upo' th' white horse yonder?

The episode in which Smug sits upon the white horse in order to impersonate Saint George has been omitted from the extant version of *The Merry Devil,* but there can be no doubt that it once formed a part of the play.[7] The reference in *A Mad World, My Masters* possibly alludes, as A. F. Hopkinson points out,[8] to a performance of the play at the Globe between 1604 and 1606.

On October 22, 1607, Arthur Johnson entered the play in the Stationers' Register,[9] and some time during the following year issued what is presumably the first edition.[10] Trinity College (Cambridge), the Henry E. Huntington Library, the Harvard College Library,[11] and the Folger Shakespeare Library[12] have each a copy of this edition. No doubt the popularity of the play led to the following entry in the Stationers' Register under the date of April 5, 1608:

Joseph Hunt
Thomas Archer — Entred for their copie. Vnder the hand of master Seton Warden a booke called. *the lyfe and deathe of the merry Devill of Edmonton with the pleasant prankes of SMUGGE the Smythe. Sir JOHN. and myne Hoste of the 'George' about their stealynge of Ven[i]son.* by T. B. . . .vj^{d}[13]

[6] Certainly the Globe was the permanent home of the Chamberlain-King's Company from 1600 to some date between 1642 and 1644, when Matthew Brend demolished the playhouse and erected tenements on its site (J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses,* pp. 263-264).

[7] Cf. pp. 16-17, 173, 175, 213-217, 257-259.

[8] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* Introduction, p. xxxi.

[9] "Arthur Johnson. Entred for his copie vnder th(e h)andes of Sir George Buck knight. and Th(e) wardens. A Plaie called *the Merry Devill of Edmonton*" (Arber, III, 362).

[10] Cf. facsimile of the title page facing p. 106.

[11] The Harvard College Library acquired this copy from the W. A. White Collection on June 14, 1928.

[12] The Folger Shakespeare Library copy was once a part of the Shakespearean Library of Marsden J. Perry.

[13] Arber, III, 374.

This entry does not refer to a second part of the play, as was once thought to be the case, but to a prose pamphlet written by Anthony (Tony) Brewer. The earliest extant edition of the pamphlet is dated 1631, the text of which I have reproduced in an appendix.[14]

The play was no doubt frequently acted at the Globe; and in 1612 Johnson put forth a second edition, copies of which are now in St. John's College (Oxford) and the Huntington Library. There is no way of knowing in what month of 1612 Johnson placed this second edition on the market, but if it appeared during or shortly after the Court season of 1612/13, its issuance might well have been inspired by the fact that it had been chosen for presentation before royalty. On a warrant dated at Whitehall, May 20, 1613, John Heminges received payment of £93 6*s*. 8*d*.[15] for "Fowerteene severall playes," among which is listed our comedy, acted during the season by the King's Company before Prince Charles, Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince of Palatine. This, so far as we know, is the first time *The Merry Devil* was presented at Court, and it is interesting to note that it was accompanied by some of the best plays then in the repertoire of the King's Men.[16]

In the Prologue to *The Devil Is an Ass,* written about 1616 and performed by the King's Men at Blackfriar's Theatre in the autumn of the same year,[17] Jonson praises *The Merry Devil* in handsome terms:

> . . . If you'll come
> To see new Playes, pray you affoord vs roome,
> And shew this, but the same face you haue done
> Your deare delight, the Diuell of Edmunton.[18]

[14] Pp. 225-264.

[15] C. C. Stopes, *Burbage,* p. 255, gives the amount as £94 6*s*. 8*d*.

[16] "viz: one playe called *ffilaster* (Beaumont and Fletcher), One other cailed *the knott of fooles,* One other *Much adoe aboute nothinge, The Mayeds Tragedy* (Beaumont and Fletcher), *The merye dyvell of Edmonton, The Tempest, A Kinge and no Kinge* (Beaumont and Fletcher), *The Twins Tragedie* (Richard Nicols), *The Winters Tale, Sir John ffalstaffe* (Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*), *The Moore of Venice* (Shakespeare's *Othello*), *The Nobleman* (Cyril Tourneur), *Caesar's Tragedye* (Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar?*), And on other called *Love lyes a bleedinge (Philaster)"* (M. S. Steele, *Plays and Masques at Court,* p. 176).

[17] C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, *Ben Jonson,* II, 151.

[18] *Ibid.,* VI, 163.

Nor is this passage our only evidence of the continued popularity of *The Merry Devil.* Arthur Johnson issued a third edition in 1617,[19] and on Sunday, May 3, 1618, the play was presented a second time at Court—on this occasion before the King himself.[20]

Three years later Thomas Dekker and John Ford wrote *The Witch of Edmonton,*[21] in which *The Merry Devil* is twice mentioned. The first allusion appears in the Prologue:

> The Town of Edmonton hath lent the stage
> A Devil and a Witch, both in an age.[22]

The second allusion appears in the third act:

> If ever there were an honest devil, 'twill
> be the Devil of Edmonton, I see.[23]

Obviously, the setting of *The Witch of Edmonton* suggested the references to *The Merry Devil,* but had the latter not been an unusually popular play, the references would have had but little force.

Soon after 1621 Johnson moved to Dublin and there set up as a stationer.[24] His last book entry in the Stationers' Registers occurs on February 12, 1620/21,[25] and in June, 1624, he began to assign his copyrights to others, the last of such assignments being on January 29, 1629/30. He died in Dublin, where his will was proved on February 9, 1630/31.[26] We can thus under-

[19] Copies of this edition printed by George Eld are in the Huntington Library, the British Museum, the Bodleian, Trinity College (Cambridge), and the Folger Shakespeare Library.

[20] Peter Cunningham, *Revels Accounts,* p. xlv. For the performance John Heminges received payment of £10, on a warrant dated May 15, 1618. See also Stopes, *op. cit.,* p. 256; Steele, *op. cit.,* p. 202; and Fleay, *Chron. Hist. of the London Stage,* pp. 178 and 257.

[21] "It was written in 1621 between April 27, when the account of the trial of Mother Sawyer was registered to print, and December 29, when it was performed at Whitehall by the Prince's Men" (Mary L. Hunt, *Thomas Dekker,* pp. 178-179).

[22] Ernest Rhys, *Thomas Dekker* ("Mermaid Series"), p. 389.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 429.

[24] R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers,* p. 157.

[25] Arber, IV, 48.

[26] McKerrow, *op. cit.,* p. 157.

stand the following entry in the Stationers' Register under the date June 21, 1624:

> 21° Junij 1624
> Francis Faulkner Assigned ouer to him
> by Arthur Johnson and order from Master
> Cole warden all his estate in the 2 bookes
> following . . . xij^{d}
> *viz*^{t}
> *The merry divell of Edmonton*
> *PASQUILLS Madcap.*[27]

Faulkner issued two editions of *The Merry Devil* within the next seven years, the first printed by A. Matthews in 1626,[28] the second by Thomas Purfoot in 1631.[29]

In 1626 Ben Jonson found occasion to praise it again.[30] The allusion appears in *The Staple of News*,[31] in "The first Intermeane after the first Act":

EXPECTATION: *There was the* Diuell *of Edmonton, no such man,* [i.e., not such a devil as he of Jonson's *The Devil Is an Ass*] *I warrant you.*

CENSURE: *The* coniurer *coosen'd him with a* candles end,[32] *he was an Asse.*

MIRTH: *But there was one* Smug, *a Smith, would haue made a horse laugh, and broke his halter, as they say.*

[27] Arber, IV, 119.

[28] Copies are in the British Museum, the Dyce Library, Trinity College (Cambridge), the Boston Library, and the Folger Shakespeare Library.

[29] Copies are in the British Museum, the Huntington Library, Trinity College (Cambridge), the Boston Library, the Bodleian, and the Folger Shakespeare Library.

[30] See above, p. 5.

[31] Entered in the Stationers' Register on April 14, 1626; performed soon after February 2, 1626—probably after February 19, but not much later—by the King's Men on the stage then at Court (Herford and Simpson, *op. cit.*, II, 169). It was first printed in 1631.

[32] De Winter, *The Staple of News*, p. 152: " 'Gifford says that Fabel seized the *candle end*, and before the devil was aware, plunged it into a vessel of holy water! Here it was secure from the devil's clutches, who vanished in great dudgeon, without his errand. In the *Devil of Edmonton*, however, as we now have it, Peter Fabell escapes by a different contrivance.' " In the play he binds Coreb in the magic chair; in the prose account he thrusts the candle into his pocket.

TATLE: *O, but the poore man had got a shrewd mischance, one day.*
EXPECTA.: *How, Gossip?*
TATLE: *He had drest a Rogue Iade i' the morning, that had the Staggers, and had got such a spice of 'hem himselfe, by noone, as they would not away all the Play time, doe what hee could, for his heart.*
MIRTH: *'Twas his part, Gossip, he was to be drunke, by his part.*
TATLE: *Say you so? I vnderstood not so much.*
EXPECTA.: *Would wee had such an other part, and such a man in this play, I feare 'twill be an excellent dull thing.*
CENSURE: *Expect, intend it.*[33]

Additional proof of the continued popularity of *The Merry Devil* is supplied by an allusion in Thomas Randolph's *Plutophthalmia Plutogamia, or Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery,* written before 1635 but not printed until 1651:[34]

What melancholy devil hath possessed thee? I am sure it is no merry one. This madness doth not smell of Edmonton.[35]

On November 6, 1638, the comedy, then at least thirty years old, was for a third time performed before royalty:

> At Richmount the 6th of
> november for the ladie
> maries berthnight & . . . The mery divell of Edmonton
> the day lost at our
> house[36]

The theatres were closed in 1642, and the tide of dramatic activity subsided during the Commonwealth. It is not surpris-

[33] Herford and Simpson, *op. cit.*, II, 303-304.
[34] Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama,* II, 599.
[35] W. Carew Hazlitt, *Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph,* p. 412.
[36] J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert,* p. 77. It is interesting to note that for the performance the players were paid £20 instead of the customary £10; but this is explained by the fact that the actors, having to go out of London, were unable to give their usual afternoon performance in the city (Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses,* p. 404).

ing, therefore, that we have no record of *The Merry Devil* for some years; but we pick up the trail again on September 9, 1653, when Humphrey Moseley entered the play in the Stationers' Register and attributed it to William Shakespeare,[37] and still again in 1654, when Edmund Gayton mentions it in his attack on the conduct of the playhouse audience.[38] Although Moseley's entry would lead one to infer that he had obtained possession of the copyright of the play, such an inference, as Hopkinson points out,[39] is incorrect. The same editor calls attention to two other points in this connection: first, that Moseley never issued an edition of the play;[40] and secondly, that since the copyright is known to have belonged to William Gilbertson in 1655, "there was in all probability a further transfer, between 1631 and 1655, from Faulkner to William Gilbertson."[41] Without more definite information, however, one might suspect that the copyright had passed from Faulkner to Moseley and finally to Gilbertson; for, if it passed directly from Faulkner to Gilbertson, Moseley had no right to enter the play in the Stationers' Register. I have been fortunate enough to discover that Moseley, despite his entry, never possessed the copyright to the comedy, but that Faulkner's widow assigned it directly to William Gilbertson on April 4, 1655. This discovery not only makes Hopkinson's suggested probability a certainty but also explains why Moseley failed to issue an edition. The transfer entry reads:

4th Aprill 1655

Master Wm. Gilbertson — Entred . . . by vertue of an assignment from Mistress FALCONER widd two bookes, the one called, *Merry conceited Jests,* by George Peele Gent. &c, & the other called, *a comedie of the Merry Devill of Edmonton,* to wch assign-

[37] G. E. B. Eyre and C. R. Rivington, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers,* I, 429.

[38] *Festivous Notes on Don Quixot,* p. 271: "Yet men come not to study at a Play-house, but love such expressions and passages, which with ease insinuate themselves into their capacities. *Lingua,* that learned Comoedy of the contention betwixt the five senses for the superiority, is not to be prostituted to the common stage, but it is only proper for an Academy; to bring them [*sic*] *Jack Drumm's* entertainment, *Greenes tu quoque,* the *Devil of Edmunton,* and the like."

[39] *Op. cit.,* Introduction, p. xvii.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. xvii.

[41] *Ibid.,* p. i.

ment the hand of Master *Norton* warden is subscribed . . . xij^{d}[42]

William Gilbertson issued the play in 1655. When five years later Charles II came to the throne, playhouses were once more opened, and the London populace again thronged to the afternoon performances. For twenty years, it should be remembered, dramatic activity had been sluggish; there had been but little opportunity for the performance of plays, and, quite naturally, few plays of any merit had been written. Now, however, the theatres needed plays. Obviously, the primary source of supply would be the popular favorites of the pre-Commonwealth period —comedies and tragedies that had formerly attracted large audiences and proved to be sure penny-getters. Allardyce Nicoll lists the "old plays" revived by the King's Company at the Red Bull between the opening of the theatres and May, 1663, when they moved to the Theatre Royal; and among these plays is *The Merry Devil*.[43] Moreover, it seems to have retained its popularity: Pepys writes in his diary on August 10, 1661:

I went to my Lady's and dined with her, and after dinner took the two young gentlemen and the two ladies and carried them and Captain Ferrers to the Theatre, and shewed them "The merry Devill of Edmunton," which is a very merry play, the first time I ever saw it, which pleased me well.[44]

[42] Eyre and Rivington, *op. cit.*, I, 469. "Falconer" is merely a variant spelling of "Faulkner" or "Falkner" (H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, p. 72), and in a later entry, also by Gilbertson, her first name is given as "Margrett" and her last name is spelled "Falkner."

[43] *Restoration Drama*, p. 82: "We find revived three tragedies of Shakespeare *(Othello, Julius Caesar, Titus Andronicus)*, Jonson's two *(Catiline* and *Sejanus)*, five of Beaumont and Fletcher *(Maid's Tragedy, A King and No King, Rollo, Philaster*, and *The Loyal Subject)*, three of Shirley *(The Example, The Cardinal*, and *The Traitor)*, as well as Middleton's *Widow*, Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia*, Webster's *Vittoria Corambona*, Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* and *The Renegade*, Suckling's *Bremeralt and Aglaura, The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust*, and Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois.*" Adams (*Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 309) points out that the date of their removal to the Theatre Royal was April 8, 1663.

[44] H. B. Wheatley, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, II, 74. The "very merry play" was also, we know, acted by the King's Company on January 6, 1661/2 (Adams, *Dramatic Records*, p. 118).

Allardyce Nicoll, after naming several Elizabethan plays (and among them *The Merry Devil*) acted on the Restoration stage between 1660 and 1663, adds: "The majority of these found frequent revivals both by the two separate companies and by the united troupes after the Union of 1682."[45] John Downes corroborates this statement in his list of plays acted between April 8, 1663, and 1682.[46] About January 12, 1668/69, our play was allotted to Killigrew as one of the dramas he had the right to produce at the Theatre Royal.[47]

At this point it may be well to notice the later history of the copyright, which seems to have escaped the attention of previous editors. As has been stated, William Gilbertson issued an edition of *The Merry Devil* in 1655 by virtue of an assignment from Mistress Margaret Faulkner. So far as we know, this was the last quarto edition of the comedy in spite of its continued popularity after the opening of the theatres in 1660. The copyright passed next into the hands of Robert White, one of the most prominent members of the Stationers' Company during the first three decades of the Restoration. Gilbertson's last entry of a book was on July 18, 1664,[48] and he died, according to Plomer,[49] between March 29 and April 15, 1665. He nominated Francis Coles, Thomas Vere, and Robert White his pallbearers,[50] and to the last named, on April 18, 1666, "Edward Hayes and Rachell his wife, executrix of the last will and testament of William Gilbertson, late citizen & staconer of London deceased," assigned all "his estate and copies of books," among which is listed *The Merry Devil*.[51] White, however, never issued the play. He

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

[46] *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 9. Downes concludes: "These being Old Plays, were Acted but now and then; yet being well Perform'd, were very Satisfactory to the Town."

[47] Allardyce Nicoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-316: "A Catalogue of part of His Ma^tes^ Servants Playes as they were formerly acted at Blackfryers & now allowed of to His Ma^tes^ Servants at y^e^ New Theatre." Then follows a list of one hundred and eight plays, the one hundredth being "The Devell of Edmonton."

[48] Eyre and Rivington, *op. cit.*, II, 346.

[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[51] Eyre and Rivington, *op. cit.*, II, 364.

served as Warden of the Stationers' Company for three terms.[52] and as Master from July 2, 1667, to July 8, 1678.[53] This is the last notice we have of him, and what became of his copyright to the play we do not know; no further transfer is recorded in the Register. His failure to publish the comedy during the twelve years he owned the copyright is not difficult to understand when we observe that he seems to have been primarily interested in printing newssheets.[54]

Although the early bibliographical history of *The Merry Devil* ends with Robert White, so far as I can discover, its stage history continues until near the close of the century. According to J. P. Collier,[55] who saw and recorded the following cast of characters which some person had written on Garrick's copy of the play, it was revived in 1691:[56]

Peter Fabell	Kynaston
Raymond Mounchensey	Mountford
Harry Clare	Hodgson
Frank Jerningham	Alexander
Sir Arthur Clare	Sandford
Sir Ralph Jerningham	Betterton
Sir Richard Mounchensey	Freeman
Sir John	Nokes
Banks	Bright
Smug	Underhill
Bilbo	Bowen
Host	Leigh
Brian	Bowman
Milliscent Clare	Mrs. Bracegirdle
Lady Dorcas Clare	Mrs. Leigh
Abbess	Mrs. Cory

It will be observed that in the cast is to be found the best talent the Restoration afforded.

[52] From July 6, 1669, to June 29, 1670; July 8, 1673, to July 3, 1674; and July 10, 1674, to July 3, 1675 (*ibid.*, II, 403-413 and 464-512).

[53] *Ibid.*, III, 39-68.

[54] Plomer, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[55] *Dodsley's Old Plays* (Hazlitt), X, 204.

[56] "The revival must have taken place about this time, as the names of Freeman and Hodgson do not occur before 1690, and in 1692 Leigh and Mountford died" (John Genest, *History of the Stage*, II, 15; note also R. W. Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, p. 139).

The Merry Devil was included in Robert Dodsley's collection of old plays in 1744, and since that date it has been reprinted in various collections and separately edited by Warnke and Proescholdt, Walker, and Hopkinson.[57]

SOURCES

Doubtless the title of the play, the Induction, and probably certain details of the action were suggested by the traditional story of the legendary magician, Peter Fabell, popularly known as "the merry devil of Edmonton." But the "main plot," as Professor John Manly points out,[1] was derived from a chapter in the prose pamphlet, *The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon:*

> How Friar Bacon did helpe a young man to his Sweetheart, which Fryer Bungye would have married to another; and of the mirth that was at the wedding.

An Oxfordshire gentleman had long time loved a faire mayde, called Millisant; this love of his was as kindly received of her, as it was freely given of him, so that there wanted nothing to the finishing of their ioyes, but the consent of her father, who would not grant that she should bee his wife (though formerly he had been a meanes to further the match) by reason there was a knight that was a suitor to her, and did desire that hee might have her to his wife: but this knight could never get from her the least token of good wil: so surely was her love fixed vpon the gentleman. This knight seeing himself thus despised, went to Fryer Bungye, and told him his mind, and did promise him a good piece of money if he could get her for him, either by his art, or counsell.

Bungye (being covetous) told him, that there was no better way in his mind, than to get her with her father to go take the air in a coach: and if hee could doe so, he would by his art so direct the horses, that they should come to an old chappell, where he would attend, and there they might secretly be married. The

[57] For a bibliography of all the editions, see pp. 269-272.

[1] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* Critical Essay, p. 505. Although Professor Manly prepared his edition in 1904, it did not appear until 1913 in *Representative English Comedies,* under the general editorship of Charles Mills Gayley, II, 505-576.

knight rewarded him for his counsell, and told him, that if it tooke effect, he would be more bountifull unto him, and presently went to her father, and told him of this. Hee liked well of it, and forced the poor maid to ride with them. So soone as they were in the coach, the horses ran presently to the chappell, where they found Friar Bungye attending for them: at the sight of the church and the priest, the poor maid knew that she was betraid, so that for grief shee fell in a swound: to see which her father and the knight, were very much grieved, and used their best skill for her recovery.

In this time, her best beloved, the gentleman, did come to her father's to visit her, but finding her not there, and hearing that shee was gone with her father and the knight, he mistrusted some foul play: and in all hast went to Fryer Bacon, and desired of him some help to recover his love againe, whom he feared was utterly lost.

Fryer Bacon (knowing him for a vertuous gentleman) pittyed him; and to give his griefes some release, showed him a glasse, wherein any one might see any thing done (within fifty miles space) that they desired: so soone as he looked in the glasse, hee saw his Love Millisant with her father, and the knight, ready to be married by Fryer Bungye: at the sight of this hee cryed out that he was undone, for now should he lose his life in losing of his love. Fryer Bacon bids him take comfort, for he would prevent the marriage; so taking this gentleman in his armes, he set himselfe downe in an enchanted chaire, and suddenly they were carried through the ayre to the chappell. Just as they came in, Fryer Bungye was ioyning their hands to marry them: but Fryer Bacon spoyled his speech, for he strucke him dumbe, so that he could not speake a worde. Then raised he a myst in the chappell, so that neither the father could see his daughter, nor the daughter her father, nor the knight either of them. Then tooke he Millisant by the hand, and led her to the one man she most desired: they both wept for ioy, that they so happily once more had met, and kindly thanked Fryer Bacon.

It greatly pleased Fryer Bacon to see the passion of these two lovers, and seeing them both contented, he marryed them at the chappell doore, whilest her father, the knight, and Fryer Bungye went groping within, and could not find the way out. Now when he had married them, he bid them get lodging at the next village, and he would send his man with money . . . but he kept her father,

the knight, and Fryer Bungye till the next day at noon in the chappell, ere he released them.[2]

That in the play the story has undergone a great transformation is immediately obvious. Fabell replaces Friar Bacon, and this substitution, of course, eliminates Friar Bungay and the scene in the chapel. Further, the subplot of the play requires that the wedding take place in the George Inn.[3] Professor Manly assembles the evidence thus:

> Milliscent is not a common name. The general outline of the intrigue is the same: the parents had originally favoured the match between Milliscent and her lover; they then attempt to marry her instead to a suitor more desirable in a worldly way: they resort to a trick to bring about the separation of the lovers; their plan is defeated by the aid of a magician who used a mist (or darkness) as an element in his plot. In its original form the play may have borne even more resemblance to the story; there are, at least, in the mangled version that has come down to us hints that originally Fabell's part was more important than it now appears to be.[4]

Of the three[5] recent editors of *The Merry Devil,* Oliphant accepts Professor Manly's suggested source. My own study of the play urges me to concur with Manly and Oliphant.

On April 5, 1608, there was entered in the Stationers' Register a prose pamphlet by Anthony Brewer: *The Life and Death of the Merry Devil of Edmonton, with the pleasant pranks of Smugge the Smythe, Sir John, and myne Host of the George, about their stealynge of Ven[i]son.*[6] Since this pamphlet appeared at least five years after the play, it cannot be considered a source; in fact, its composition was doubtless inspired by the

[2] W. J. Thoms, *Early English Prose Romances,* I, 235-238.

[3] The addition of the two faithful friends, Frank Jerningham and Harry Clare, as well as of certain episodes between Milliscent and Raymond, may have been suggested by the very similar drama, *Wily Beguild.*

[4] Manly, *op. cit.,* p. 507.

[5] Hopkinson, *op. cit.* (1914), Introduction, p. xxxii, says very little about sources: H. C. Oliphant, *Elizabethan Dramatists* (1931), pp. 419-450, agrees with Manly; and Professor A. K. McIlwraith, *Five Elizabethan Comedies* ("World Classics," 1934), pp. 253-308, fails to include a discussion of its source in his Introduction.

[6] See Appendix I, pp. 225-264.

popularity of that comedy on the stage.[7] As a narrative based in part on the story of the play, its narration of the pleasant pranks of Smug and his fellows is invaluable for a clear understanding of the play's comic subplot, especially with respect to the problem of the two inn-signs.[8] This fact has been noted by previous editors, but any further relationship between the two pieces has been overlooked. Professor Manly gave a summary of the prose pamphlet "in order to assist readers in the elucidation of the extremely obscure and complicated situation in the last act of the play";[9] Professor Tucker Brooke declares that the pamphlet has "only the remotest connexion with our comedy";[10] and Oliphant remarks, in rather general terms, that it "is explanatory of much that is left confused or unexplained in the play."[11] Briefly stated, though, the consensus of opinion has been that the only contribution made by the prose tract towards an understanding of the comedy is to be found in one passage—that in which Smug impersonates Saint George.[12]

But since it is agreed that the tract preserves one episode which formed a part of the original play, it seems reasonable to suppose that it may contain others. It does not follow, of course, that every episode in the tract was derived from the play; all that can be definitely said is that the author of the pamphlet, recognizing the great success of the play, hastily composed a narrative dealing with the adventures of characters perhaps created and certainly popularized by the dramatist. In this narrative he utilized certain episodes already employed by the playwright, and added some drawn from other sources and some possibly of his own invention. Naturally, for the added episodes he had to create additional characters, for instance, Smug's wife, the party of shoemakers, the friar and his leman. If, then, in the mangled text of the play that has come down to us there are obscure and unexplained allusions to episodes—allusions, too, which seem to be explained by episodes in the prose account—may one not safely assume that those episodes were

[7] See also Hopkinson, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

[8] For a detailed discussion of this problem, see pp. 213-217.

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 508-509.

[10] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxvi.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

[12] See Appendix I, pp. 257-259.

originally a part of the comedy and that they have been omitted through the revision and curtailment to which the text has been subjected?[13] In my opinion there are in the prose tract, in addition to the episode which explains the exchange of the inn-signs, two other episodes which were to be found in the play as originally performed.

The first of these is entitled "How Smust [*sic*] was frighted by the Nuns of Chestone, thinking them to be spirits, and how afterward he frighted them by his suddaine appearance."[14] According to this account Smug was stealing venison in the park when he heard the keeper approaching, and hastily climbed a tree in order to escape detection. After the keeper had finally passed, he peered through the branches, and, as Brewer records:

. . . he spied the Mother Nun of Chestone, with three or foure young ones, (attired in white long robbes, with railes and tippets, as they vsed to weare) comming towards him with a little bell rung before them, sprinkling holy water, and praying vpon their beades very deuoutly: with all the circumstances of that ceremony they vsed when they received a sister into that holy order.

The very sight of these holy creatures, made Smug quiuer, quake, and shake like the leaues of the tree hee sate vpon, for he thought verily they had beene Spirits[,] Furies, Fiends or Hobgoblins, that had come thether a purpose to carry him away for stealing of Venison. . . .

The nuns having passed him, Smug got from the tree, "thinking to haue runne to his fellowes that stayed for him." Just as he reached the ground, however, he was confronted by the nuns returning. In his terror he began to beg of them leniency, promising that "he would neuer walke so late a Deare-stealing againe while hee liued." The nuns, badly frightened, fled in one direction, while Smug fled in the other, running at top speed until he had reached his fellow deer-stealers:

VVhen he had found them, he tould them (in boasting manner) how he met with a company of Spirits in the parke, and they durst not abide the sight of him. Therefore be of good cheare my Maisters

[13] For a discussion of this revision and curtailment, see pp. 36-41.

[14] See pp. 239-240.

(sayd he) if Spirits be affraid to looke vpon mee, and run so fast from me, I hope the sneaking Keeper dares not abide my furie, and so they past on againe to their theeuing pastime.

Certainly this episode does not appear in the printed text of the play, but that it once formed a part of the play's action is not to be doubted. Let us try to discover at what place in the action the episode must have occurred. To do this it is necessary to study the time-sequence of the plot. The first act opens before breakfast[15] and closes after the main characters have been introduced and have entered the dining room. The second act opens on the morning of the same day with the introduction of the comic characters, Banks, Smug, and Sir John. I quote certain lines pertinent to the later discussion:

Banks: But to our former motion about stealing some venison; whither goe we?

Sir John: Into the forrest, neighbour Banks, into Brians walke, the madde keeper.

Since Smug is drunk, Banks doubts the wisdom of allowing him to accompany them on their proposed expedition. Sir John, when asked by Banks for his opinion, replies:

The question is, good neighboure Banks—let mee see: the Moone shines to night,—ther's not a narrow bridge betwixt this and the forrest,—his braine will be setled ere night; he may go . . . .

Next Blague, the host of the George, having just entered, says:

Miller, doth the match hold? . . . Ile meet you at the time appointed. . . . If we be scard in the forrest, weele meete in the Church-porch at Enfield: . . . Nine a clocke. . . . Ile fence with all the Iustices in Hartford shire. Ile haue a Bucke til I die . . . .

The scene ends with Sir John's admonition: "Come, lets prouide . . .," and in the following scene we have the stage direction: "Enter the Knights & Gentlemen from breakfast againe."

In this second and final scene of Act II Sir Arthur swears that he will see his daughter Milliscent "lodgde in Chesson house

[15] Cf. scene i, lines 30-37, and scene ii, lines 44-46.

to night." The third act then opens at Cheston Priory; Sir Arthur has kept his promise and Milliscent *is* brought to "Chesson house to night." The two fathers reveal their plans to Frank and Harry, and Frank requests of his father to be allowed to confer with his holy adviser, Friar Hildersham. The scene ends with his father's reply:

> . . . to morrow morning wee will meet all at the Abby,
> Where by th' opinion of that reuerend man
> Wee will proceede.

The next scene, to our surprise, opens on the following morning, and we discover that the night has passed without any reference whatsoever to the promised adventure of the thieves. We hear nothing about the *provisions* Sir John was to make; nor do we learn whether Smug had sobered sufficiently for the occasion. Moreover, the scene represented is not that of the arranged-for conference with Friar Hildersham despite later allusions in the text[16] which convincingly suggest that such a scene once existed. And, indeed, all the editors are agreed that revision and curtailment have deprived the printed play of the scene in which Peter Fabell impersonated Friar Hildersham, advised the two knights how to proceed, disguised Raymond Mounchensey as a friar, and sent him with Sir Arthur Clare to be confessor to Milliscent. The scene we have reveals Sir Arthur and the disguised Raymond as already at the priory gate. But let us consider the probable action on the first night.

It is true that on the second night the great poaching adventure takes place, but this adventure is not, we may conjecture, the one arranged for at the opening of the second act; for if the references to "to night" in the lines quoted be taken as dramatic preparation for the nocturnal episodes of the second night, we must assume either: (1) that the scene with which Act II opens has been misplaced and should come on the morning of the second day instead of on the morning of the first; or (2) that the playwright has constructed a plot in which the action, with respect to the principal characters, extends over two

[16] Cf. Act V, scene i, lines 1-110.

days and two nights, whereas, with respect to the lesser characters, it extends over only one day and one night. Neither of these assumptions, it seems to me, is as likely to be correct as the supposition that in the original and full version of the comedy there were two deer-stealing adventures, one on each night; and that the adventures of the first night have been lost in the shortened version. An account of the omitted scene seems to be preserved in the episode already cited from the prose tract. In that episode, we may recall, Smug climbed a tree to escape the keeper, was frightened when he saw the nuns from Cheston Nunnery executing an initiation ceremony, thought the nuns were spirits, and fled in terror. Now let us glance at the play.

That there is a conspicuous loss of comic action promised for the first night is undeniable. Further, Milliscent had just been brought to the nunnery, and on this night would probably have been initiated through some such ceremony as that described in the prose pamphlet. Most important of all, later in the play there are references to happenings on the first night which could have no significance whatsoever unless the happenings referred to had been witnessed by the audience. I cite the references below. (1) Blague opens the fourth act with the sentence:

> Come yee Hungarian pilchers, we are once more come vnder the *zona torrida* of the forrest.

The expression "once more" unmistakably points to an earlier forest adventure which the audience had already seen. (2) Smug, a few lines lower, declares:

> I was last night in the third heauens, my braine was poore, it had yest in't; but now I am a man of action; is't not so, lad?

In other words, Smug is drawing a laugh from the audience by referring to his climb into the tree, his foolish mistaking of the nuns for spirits, and his ignominious flight. (3) Banks jests at Smug's experience in the tree:

> *Banks:* Smug, dost not thou remember the tree thou felst out of last night?

Smug: Tush, and't had bin as high as the Abby, I should nere haue hurt my selfe.

Had the audience not seen and laughed at the episode of Smug in the tree, this allusion certainly would not have had much force. (4) Sir John likewise jests at Smug, this time at his flight: "Come, seuer, feare no sprits!"

As an explanation of all the facts cited above, I submit the following conjecture. The full-length version of the play was abbreviated by the elimination of various scenes, necessitating the running together of scenes which do not logically follow one another. Those depicting the adventures of the poachers on the first night were omitted, but through haste or carelessness certain allusions to them were left in the text. The author of the prose pamphlet, however, was familiar with the complete version, and incorporated the tree-climbing episode as a part of his narrative.

The second episode in the prose tract which in all likelihood echoes a scene in the original full text of the play is entitled "How Smug quarreld with his fellowes, and was ready to fight about the singing of a Catch: and how till they turnd it to his mind, he would not be quieted."[17] In this episode Smug and his boon companions were making merry, drinking, and singing old catches. When Sir John, perhaps lustily and looking directly at Smug, started to sing "Ile Tie My Mare in Thy Ground," the drunken smith began violently to quarrel with him "thinking verily, he had ment, (as he said in his song) to ty his Mare in his ground." In order to appease Smug, Sir John turned and sang as if addressing his words to the miller.

There is no evidence in the play as it has come down to us to suggest that possibly the catch was once a part of its text; yet, in the prose pamphlet the catch is sung by characters who appear in *The Merry Devil;* moreover, there is proof that about 1608 it was being sung in a popular play. In *A Whole Crew of Kind Gossips* by Samuel Rowlands, the wife complains of her husband's inconstancy:

[17] See pp. 262-263.

He hath all that to villany belongs,
The hugest number of such baudy songs,
You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)
That any man could bear them in his braine.
He hath a song cald, *Mistress will you do?*
And My Man Thomas did me promise too,
He hath the *Pinnace rigd with a silken saile,*
And *Pretty Birds* with *Garden Nightingale,*
Ile tye my Mare in thy ground a new way,
Worse than the Players sing it in the Play,
Besse for abuses, and a number more,
That you and I haue neuer heard before.[18]

Furnivall, who quotes this passage in his edition of Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses,*[19] asks in the margin opposite the third from the last line, "What play?" The question cannot be answered with certainty; but it seems safe to assume that the play alluded to was popular about 1608, the date of the first edition of our comedy and of the entry of the prose pamphlet. Moreover, if the allusion was inspired by animosity towards the author of the highly successful drama ("Worse than the Players sing it in the Play"), and if my argument for Dekker's authorship of *The Merry Devil* be accepted, then the probability that the song once appeared in our play is greatly strengthened; for it is a matter of common knowledge that Dekker and Rowlands were at odds about 1608 to 1610.[20]

It may not be amiss to add that the probability of Dekker's authorship increases the likelihood that the song was sung in the play, for his dramas are generally filled with songs; there are six in *Old Fortunatus,* four in *Patient Grissell,* five in *The Honest Whore,* three in *The Shoemakers' Holiday,* and short snatches appear in *The Roaring Girl* and *If It Be Not Good.*[21]

[18] Signature C2r. See the reprint of the first edition (1609) for the Hunterian Club, 1876.

[19] P. 315.

[20] For a discussion of their quarrel see Hunt, *Thomas Dekker,* pp. 135-136.

[21] J. R. Moore, "The Songs of the Public Theaters in the Time of Shakespeare," *J. E. G. P.,* XXVIII (1929), 172-199.

Moreover, since the general characteristics of the Host of the George, the miller, the smith, and the parson are the same in both the play and the pamphlet, we are justified in assuming that the pamphlet was taking over persons whom the play had popularized.

If there are other instances in which the prose tract reproduces episodes from *The Merry Devil,* I have been unable to detect them.

In a footnote to his edition of Dodsley's *Old English Plays*[22] Hazlitt noted the similarity between Act IV, scene ii, of *The Merry Devil* and one of the tales recorded in *The Shakespeare Jest-Books,*[23] entitled "Of the mylner that stale the nuttes of the tayler that stale a shepe." Hazlitt, however, did not regard the jest as a source for the episode in our comedy,[24] and no previous editor has found any similarity between the two. Nevertheless, that the jest was a source for the scene admits of little doubt. In this connection it should be observed that references in the earlier parts of the play provide for this scene, and that those references appear to have belonged to the original version of the comedy.[25] In both accounts there are a miller, a sexton, and a priest. In the play, however, the smith takes the place of "the tayler," and Blague is substituted for the cripple. This last substitution eliminates the section of the jest dealing with the sexton and the cripple. Let us examine some similarities in the two accounts:

[22] X, 251: "Compare 'Old English Jest-Books,' i. 31."

[23] Hazlitt, *A C. Merye Tales,* I, 31-36. The entire jest is reprinted in Appendix II, pp. 264-267.

[24] Hazlitt's note appeared in 1875; eleven years earlier he had not mentioned the similarity in his edition of *Shakespeare Jest-Books* (London, 1864). Nor did he mention it in 1887, twelve years later, when he prepared his photolithographic edition of *A Hundred Mery Tales.* Furthermore, Dr. Herman Oesterley failed to suggest any relationship in his edition of *Shakespeare's Jest-Book* (London, 1866).

[25] See Act I, scene i, lines 20-21, and Act II, scene i, lines 28-65. Were there no such anticipatory allusions, one would be inclined to believe that the scene represents a later revision, since in this particular episode the comic characters are generally identified by their vocations (priest, miller, etc.) rather than by their names (John, Banks, etc.). This would not alter the fact, however, that the jest served as a source.

The Play	The Jest
Banks. . . . I haue bin in fifteene ditches betweene this and the forrest . . . I am so wet with climing ouer into an orchard for to steale some filberts. Well, here Ile sit in the Church porch, and wait for the rest of my consort. (Act IV, scene ii, ll. 1-5.)	It happenyd that, the same nyghte after that he [the rich husbandman who loved nuts and set trees of filberts in his orchard] was beryed, there was a mylner in a whyte cote cam to this mannes garden to the entent to stele a bagge of nuttes. . . . This mylner, when he had spede of hys nuttys, came furst to the chyrch porch, and there taryed for hys felow, and the mene whyle satte styll there and knakked nuttes. (ll. 10-22.)
Enter the Sexton	
Sex. God blesse vs! Heere was goodman Theophilus buried; hee was the best Nutcraker that euer dwelt in Enfeild. Well, tis 9. a clock, tis time to ring curfew. Lord blesse vs, what a white thing is that in the Church porch! . . . this is the ghost of Theophilus. O Lord, it followes me! (Act IV, scene ii, ll. 6-13.)	It fortuned that the sexten of the church, because yt was about ix of the cloke, cam to ryng curfue; and whan he lokyd in the porche and sawe one all in whyte knakkynge nuttes he had wente [i.e., weened] it had bene the dede man rysyn owt of hys graue . . . and ran home agayne in all hast. . . . (ll. 22-27.)
Banks. What noise was that? tis the watch, sure; that villanous vnlucky rogue, Smug, is taine, vpon my life. . . . By the Lord, there are some watchmen; I heare them name Maister Constable . . . by this light; Ile steale hence. (Act IV, scene ii, ll. 34-46.)	Thys mylner perceyuyng that they were two, and that one ran after an other, thoughte that one had spyed the tayler stelyng the shepe, and that he had ron after hym to haue taken hym . . . he for feare . . . as secretly as he cowde ran home to hys myll. (ll. 41-46.)
Enter Sexton and (Sir John, *the*) *Priest*	

Sir John. Grasse and hay! O, that I could coniure! wee saw a spirite here in the Church-yeard; and in the fallow field ther's the deuill with a mans body vpon his backe in a white sheet. (Act IV, scene ii, ll. 52-55.)

But yet durynge this whyle, the sexten which ranne away wente not to hys owne house, but went to the parysh prestys chamber, and shewd hym how the spyryt of the man was rysen out of hys graue . . . wherfore the prest sayd that he wolde go coniure hym. yf the sexten wolde go wyth hym; and so they bothe agreed. . . . The prest, perceyuynge the tayller all in blake and a whyte thyng on his nek, had went it had ben the deuyll beryng away the spyryte of the dede man that was beryed, and ran away as fast as he coude. . . . (ll. 51-68.)

The passages quoted are sufficient to show the indebtedness of the scene to the jest. That Dekker was acquainted with the collection of jests from which this one was taken is shown by his allusion in *The Wonderful Year* (edited by Grosart, I, 147): "I could fill a large volume, and call it the second part of the hundred mery tales."

It is possible that the scene once contained even more of the "confusion" found in the jest, for the allusion to the devil with a man's body upon his back may refer to the episode in which the cripple rides to the church on the sexton's back. It is more likely, however, that the author here intended to allude to Smug, who seems to have carried the deer on his back just as the tailor, in the jest, bore on his back the sheep he had stolen. The dramatist, it will be noted, gave to the "certayne ryche husbandman" of the jest, the name Theophilus and also successfully dramatized what Hazlitt called "one of the best stories of the kind in the present or any other collection, in our own or other languages."[26]

[26] *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, I, 36.

The Merry Devil of Edmonton is an excellent example of the topographical comedy, a genre best exemplified perhaps in Johnson's *Bartholomew Fair*.[27] Its author knew that through the use of particular places and well-known family names, and of legends associated with them, he would invite for the play such popularity as results from realism and plausibility. Thus, in any discussion of the sources of our plot, places and families and the legends clustering about them must be considered.

Edmonton, Waltham Abbey, Waltham Forest, Waltham Cross, Enfield Chase, Essex, Cheshunt Nunnery were names familiar to the London theatregoer; as too, undoubtedly, were the legends associated with them. Enfield Chase, for instance, was a game preserve stocked with deer both by Elizabeth and James. Here, for days at a time, the members of the Court were wont to gather during the hunting season; and here, night after night, poachers were accustomed to trespass, risking arrest, fines, and imprisonment. The Middlesex County Records reveal the frequency of just such escapades as are employed in *The Merry Devil*. On May 23, 1574, for instance, a true bill was returned against William Paddye, Thomas Rede, and Nicholas Crabb, who "broke into the Queen's Chase called Endfielde Chase, hunted deer and wild animals there, and killed *'unam damam.'*"[28] Again, on July 27 of the same year Henry Lawrence, "yoman, broke into the said [Enfield] chase, hunted the wild animals there, and killed *'unam damam vocat'* a prickett."[29] And in 1601 the following poachers were complained of: "Tyndall Perte of Fryan Barnet; William Terry, servant to Mr. John Ashe; Mr. Robert Hayes of Enfield; Launcelot Fox and Mr. Myners of Waltham Abbey."[30] Sir John and his cronies, Smug, Banks, and Blague of the George, were thus portrayed in realistic and plausible escapades.

To discuss the legends relating to the moral laxity of mon-

[27] R. H. Perkinson, "Topographical Comedy in the Seventeenth Century," *E.L.H.*, III (1936), 270-290.

[28] J. C. Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, I, 87-88.

[29] *Ibid.*, I, 88. See also I, 269, and II. 62, for other true bills of indictment against thieves in Enfield Chase.

[30] R. B. Sharpe, *Real War of the Theatres*, pp. 221-224.

asteries and nunneries would be pointless; but, in view of the trenchant innuendoes directed at the Waltham monks and the Cheshunt nuns in *The Merry Devil,*[31] it may not be inapt to cite two examples of popular belief. In his *History of Waltham*[32] Farmer records a story of how Sir H. Colt of Netherhall, for the amusement of King Henry VIII, entrapped a party of monks from Waltham Abbey in a buckstall as they returned from a stolen night visit to the nunnery at Cheshunt. In an article, written from Waltham Abbey and dated March 23, 1859, Edmund Littler writes: "P.S. Last week I succeeded in my wish to visit the subterranean passage under the Abbey grounds. . . . The belief in its having once extended to Cheshunt Nunnery is very general; but this is at once refuted by the internal evidences of the passage itself."[33] Littler adds, however, that the guide would not permit him to explore the Cheshunt branch of the underground passage. Examples such as these of ancient popular beliefs help to explain the success the play won on the London stage.

After a careful study of the families involved, Professor Sharpe has advanced the opinion that the "gentlemanly Clares, Jerninghams and Mounchenseys . . . appear to represent real country families."[34] Indeed, he points out that one can readily trace these family names in local records.[35] He concludes, therefore, that *The Merry Devil* establishes a type of drama called by him "Family Drama," the peculiarities of which he lists. He adds:

> Such plays may possibly have grown out of a practice of adapting, by the use of family and local traditions of color, the strolling company's repertory of romances, comedies, and chronicles to such situations as would be constantly met on tour—a chance to perform in the guildhall of a town bursting with local pride, or in the great hall of a proud family. In the latter case the players may

[31] Cf. Act II, scene iii, lines 45-63, and Act III, scene ii, lines 121-136.
[32] P. 77.
[33] *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* II, 54.
[34] *Op. cit.,* p. 221.
[35] For instance, see *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* XI, 42 and 181; and N.S., XX, 13; and Jeaffreson, *op. cit.,* I, 275, and II, 27.

have found it more tactful, when there was the slightest tartness in the satire or moral dubiety in the plot, to assign names from the neighboring families, not from those present.[36]

Professor Sharpe's analysis of the family connections represented in the play leads him to conclude that it is a part of what he believes to be the real War of the Theatres, a war between the Cecil and Essex factions. Since, he argues, the King's Men who acted the play were anti-Cecil, and since the Clares, the Jerninghams, and the Mounchenseys were pro-Cecil, the satiric portrayal of these families is fully explained. Although Professor Sharpe may be justified in his deductions, it must be observed that the requirements of the plot necessitated such a portrayal.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

The Merry Devil of Edmonton can be dated before 1604. An allusion in the play to Cooper's *Dictionary*,[1] first published in 1565,[2] though suggesting an early date, can hardly be of any value; and the earliest extant mention of the play, found in *The Black Book* by T. M.,[3] establishes 1604 as the latest date. More specific dates than these are based in part on conjecture. The nature of the evidence adduced (similarity to other plays, employment of devices belonging to a certain period, verbal borrowing, textual allusions, etc.) does not make for certainty.

Fleay dates the play before December, 1597,[4] for the following reasons: first, he thinks there is an allusion to our comedy in *The Merchant of Venice* (Act II, scene iii, l. 2), where Jessica calls Lancelot a "merry devil";[5] secondly, he is convinced

[36] *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

[1] See note to Act I, scene ii, lines 26-27.

[2] Warnke-Proescholdt and Oliphant give 1584 as the date of publication, but this is the date of the fourth edition, the first appearing in 1565, the second, 1573, and the third, 1578. There was also an edition of 1587. Copies of all editions are in the Bodleian Library.

[3] Isaac Reed seems to have been the first to point out this allusion (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, Second Edition, V, 247). The initials T. M. are taken to mean Thomas Middleton, and the passage in question appears in Bullen, *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, VIII, 35-36.

[4] *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama*, II, 314.

[5] The date of the composition of *The Merchant of Venice* is also a matter

that Michael Drayton is its author.[6] Since Drayton wrote solely for the Admiral's Men from 1598 to 1603, he must have written *The Merry Devil,* according to Fleay, before he began to write for Henslowe. To date the play before *The Merchant of Venice* is, of course, to say that Shakespeare borrowed from *The Merry Devil* (Act IV, scene i, ll. 156-165) Shylock's famous speech about his daughter and his ducats,[7] but the scene in *The Merry Devil* is awkward and altogether inappropriate unless it be a parody on a well-known scene; whereas, the Shakespearean passage is artistically handled and organically necessary. *The Merry Devil,* therefore, would seem to have borrowed from *The Merchant of Venice.*

The year 1598 as the date of composition finds supporters, although not overzealous ones, in Manly, Hopkinson, and Oliphant.[8] Manly's evidence indicates merely that 1598 is the earliest date worthy of consideration—not that 1598 is the correct date:

> There are obvious relations between it [*The Merry Devil*] and Shakespeare's *Henry IV* plays in both characterization and spirit in the comic scenes, and even more noteworthy is the similarity between the Host of this play and him of the *Merry Wives of Windsor.*[9] . . . In this connection it may not be amiss to call attention to the

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of conjecture, but the consensus of opinion dates it later than December, 1597. See J. Q. Adams, *Life of Shakespeare,* pp. 222-223.

[6] For Fleay's argument see *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama,* I, 150 ff. Later, in II, 313 ff., he contends that the original name of *The Merry Devil* was *Sir John Oldcastle,* and that Sir John, the priest, bore the name of Sir John Oldcastle, thus satirizing the Protestant martyr as Shakespeare is known to have done in the *Henry IV* plays. Yet it is well known that Drayton collaborated with Munday, Hathaway, and Wilson in *Sir John Oldcastle,* acted by the Admiral's Men and first published in 1600, in which Sir John Oldcastle is defended. I am unable to reconcile such arguments. Oliphant is in error when he quotes Fleay as stating that the Host in *The Merry Devil* represented Sir John Oldcastle.

[7] A parody on this same speech appears in *Wily Beguild* (I^{3r}-I^{3v}) as well as an imitation of the famous "On such a night" passage. See *Wily Beguild* (I^{1v}-I^{2r}).

[8] Manly: "about 1598"; Hopkinson: "toward the close of 1598"; and Oliphant: "belonging to 1598."

[9] Leslie Hotson (*Shakespeare versus Shallow,* p. 130) dates *II Henry IV* and *The Merry Wives* 1596-97. G. B. Harrison (*Shakespeare Under Elizabeth,* p. 312) does not accept Hotson's assigned date.

striking use in our play of what may be called characterization phrases. . . . This device of indicating a character and providing recurrent occasion for laughter by the use of a peculiar phrase or manner of speech seems not to have been in use before 1598, and to have had especial vogue about the end of the century, though it has of course maintained itself as one of the stock tricks of the dramatic artisan.

It seems also worthy of note that the word "element" is used freely in this play. . . . Certainly "element" is very common in plays just before 1600,[10] and certainly it is little used in plays of that date and a little later.[11]

To Manly's observations should be added Creizenach's statement that nocturnal scenes of bewilderment and confusion came into fashion about 1598.[12] Lawrence[13] argues convincingly that the nocturnal was a distinct type of play and as such recognized by the Elizabethans. As an early example he cites *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* which he dates not earlier than 1597,[14] adding: "The vogue of the nocturnal began about that year, and the *Dream* was the nocturnal *in excelsis.*"[15] As other nocturnals he lists Middleton's *Blurt Master Constable* and *The Phoenix,* of about 1601 and 1603 respectively. In both, the nocturnal element is confined to the fourth act; and so it is in *The Merry Devil,* likewise claimed by Lawrence as a nocturnal. Any attempt, therefore, to date *The Merry Devil* through its similarity to nocturnals would place it in general between 1597 and 1603. However, if the use of characterization phrases, the stressing of the word "element," and the development of the nocturnal date from about 1597-98, the fact that *The Merry Devil* is marked by all three would seem to point, not to the first year of their

[10] In *Twelfth Night,* Act III, scene i, lines 64-66, generally dated 1600, the clown says: "Who you are and what you would are out of my welkin—I might say 'element,' but the word is overworn."

[11] Manly, *op. cit.,* pp. 511-512. For a discussion of the catchphrase as a vogue in drama, see also W. J. Lawrence, *Speeding Up Shakespeare,* p. 111.

[12] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas,* IV, 304.

[13] *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies,* pp. 122-144.

[14] J. W. Draper ("The Date of *A Midsommer Night's Dream,*" *M. L. N.,* LIII, 1938, 266-268) argues for May 1, 1595, as the date. See also McCloskey, "The Date of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,*" *M. L. N.,* XLVI (1931), 389.

[15] *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies,* p. 138.

appearance, but rather to a later year when they had become fashionable.

Convinced that the play is Shakespeare's, Hopkinson is "disposed to fix the time of writing towards the close of 1598, after the appearance of Shakespeare's second part of *Henry IV* and before *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* two plays to which *The Merry Devil* bears many resemblances."[16] In other words, Hopkinson would have Shakespeare first draw the jovial Host of our play and then in *The Merry Wives* virtually duplicate the portrait. I am inclined to agree with Charles Knight[17] in his opinion that Shakespeare would not have found it necessary, or desirable, for that matter, to repeat this character.

Oliphant, the last of the three editors who support 1598 as the latest date of composition, thinks that *The Merry Devil* may have set the fashion for the use of characterization phrases. Moreover, in agreement with Manly, he states that the clown's speech in *Twelfth Night* "appears to date *The Merry Devil* before 1600."[18] Finally, impressed by the textual confusion in the play as well as by the similarities between it and plays dating ten years before the end of the century, he supposes that *The Merry Devil* may have existed in its original form as early as 1589-90.[19]

If the similarities between *The Merry Devil* and such plays as *Doctor Faustus* and *Friar Bacon* suggest a date as early as 1590, and if Shylock's whimsical cries for his daughter and his ducats, echoed in *The Merry Devil,* suggest a date about 1597-98, what shall we say about the *Hamlet* word-echoes present in our play?[20] These echoes would appear to extend the possible date

[16] *Op. cit.,* Introduction, p. iii.

[17] *Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare,* The Doubtful Plays, p. 315. It may be well to mention here two errors that Knight makes on page 322: he speaks of the knights as being roughly treated by the keepers when, as a matter of fact, Brian is the only keeper present; he also says, "The lady in white who has been hiding from them [the keepers] is taken for a spirit." But Milliscent, so far as we know, was not dressed in white; nor was it she who was taken for a spirit; it was Banks, the miller.

[18] *Op. cit.,* Introduction, p. 421.

[19] Oliphant is in error, however, when he speaks of Banks as having fallen out of a tree; it was not Banks but Smug who had this misadventure.

[20] Compare *The Merry Devil* [Induction, ll. 3-4] to *Hamlet* [Act I, scene v,

by a year or two, for it is generally agreed that Shakespeare revised the old *Hamlet* about 1600-01.[21] Of course the two passages echoed in *The Merry Devil* may have belonged to the pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet,* since, as Manly points out,[22] they appear in the earliest extant version of the play. It seems, however, that the author of *The Merry Devil* would have imitated only a very popular play; and *Hamlet,* though always popular, attained its greatest popularity after Shakespeare had transformed it "to the marvel of beauty and subtlety which his fortunate heirs call *Hamlet.*"[23]

The striking resemblance between Milliscent's exhortation (Act III, scene i, ll. 27-28): "Good men and true, stand together and hear your charge" and Ingenioso's admonition in *The Return from Parnassus* (Act I, scene ii, ll. 116-117): "Good men and true, stand together, hear your censure" may not be a mere coincidence. Inasmuch as the second part of the *Return* contains some satiric allusions to plays and contemporary poets, Ingenioso's remark may be a deliberate jibe at the scene in *The Merry Devil.* If such a relationship could be established, then the date of *The Merry Devil* could be placed definitely before the year 1602.[24] Unfortunately, however, the evidence is too vague to justify more than a conjecture.

As a means of arriving at a date little significance can be attached to the obvious influence *Doctor Faustus* and *Friar Bacon* exercised on *The Merry Devil.* Both *Faustus* and *Friar Bacon* were old plays, I feel sure, when *The Merry Devil* first appeared. If it could be assigned with certainty to the latter

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l. 20] and also *The Merry Devil* [Induction, ll. 30-31] to *Hamlet* [Act I, scene iv, l. 43].

[21] Adams, *Hamlet,* p. 347; J. D. Wilson, *Hamlet,* p. xxii; E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare,* II, 197; F. S. Boas, *Shakespeare and the Universities,* pp. 256-260; Leo Kirschbaum, "The Date of Shakespeare's *Hamlet,*" *S. P.,* XXXIV (1937), 168-175; H. R. Walley, "The Dates of *Hamlet* and Marston's *The Malcontent,*" *R.E.S.,* IX (1933), 397-409; Grierson, "Review of Gabriel Harvey's *Marginalia* (ed. by G. C. Moore-Smith)," *M. L. R.,* XII (1917), 218-221.

[22] *Op. cit.,* p. 513. [23] Wilson, *Hamlet,* p. xxi.

[24] O. Smeaton, *The Return from Parnassus,* p. xii: "It [i.e., the play] was a Christmas toy written for the yuletide celebrations of 1601, at St. John's College, Cambridge, or for the New Year rejoicings of 1602." See also F. S. Boas, *Shakespeare and His Predecessors,* p. 204.

months of 1602 or the early months of 1603, we might conjecture that it reveals the influence of a popular revival of *Doctor Faustus* after November 22, 1602; for on that date Henslowe records[25] payment of £4 to William Byrd and Samuel Rowley for additions to the old tragedy. Moreover, Boas is probably correct in believing that Henslowe "produced the play in the expanded form . . . in order to recoup himself for his payment."[26]

Although a matter of conjecture, the date 1602-03 has received some recent support. Louis B. Wright[27] lists *The Merry Devil* as "(c. 1603)"; Judges comments in this manner: "Authorship uncertain; first produced probably in 1603";[28] and Sharpe[29] assigns it to the King's Men in 1603. Moreover, it can be shown that *The Merry Devil,* though first mentioned in Middleton's *The Black Book,* published in 1604,[30] does not itself belong to 1604. In *A Mad World My Masters*[31] Middleton also alludes to a performance of the play. *The Black Book* was entered in the Stationers' Register March 22, 1604;[32] and R. C. Bald states that *A Mad World* "would seem to have been written before the middle of 1604."[33] The public theatres were closed from May 17, 1603,[34] to April, 1604, although the King gave employment to the London companies during the Christmas season 1603/04;[35] hence Middleton, in the two works cited, is referring to a performance or performances belonging to an acting period before the closing of the theatres.

Before concluding this discussion of conjectural dates for *The Merry Devil,* it may be well to mention two pieces of evidence[36] not heretofore emphasized by former editors. In the

[25] *Diary,* I, 172.
[26] *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus,* p. 48.
[27] *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England,* p. 613.
[28] *The Elizabethan Underworld,* p. 509.
[29] *The Real War of the Theatres,* p. 57.
[30] See above, p. 3.
[31] See above, p. 4, n. 8.
[32] Arber, III, 256.
[33] "The Chronology of Middleton's Plays," *M. L. R.,* XXXII (1937), 33-43.
[34] J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines,* II, 82; E. M. Albright, *Dramatic Publications in England,* p. 271; F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London,* p. 110; W. W. Greg, *Henslowe Papers,* p. 61; Sharpe, *op. cit.,* p. 220.
[35] Cunningham, *Extracts,* pp. xxxiv-xxxvii.
[36] The following textual allusions can be of little importance: (1) Blague's

first place, the relation which *The Merry Devil* bears to *Wily Beguild* would seem to suggest a date certainly later than 1598, when the old university play was revised by Dekker, assisted perhaps by Marston,[37] and possibly as late as 1601-02,[38] when it was apparently revived by the Children of St. Pauls.[39] In the second place, when Middleton mentioned both *The Merry Devil* and *A Woman Killed with Kindness* in the same sentence of his *Black Book*,[40] he implied rather strongly that both these plays were being performed on the London stage at the same time or at approximately the same time. Moreover, it seems logical to suppose that his allusion to these particular pieces must have been suggested by their unusual popularity. If this likely contemporaneousness of the plays is accepted, then *The Merry Devil* was on the stage just prior to the closing of the theatres in 1603.[41] Of course the play may not then have been new.

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addressing Bilbo as "My souldier of S. Quintins" (Act I, scene ii, l. 23), if indeed it be an allusion to the Battle of St. Quentin's (see p. 187), can mean but little, since St. Quentin's was stormed in 1557. (2) Host Blague's recurring catchphrase, "I serue the good Duke of Norfolke," does not date *The Merry Devil*, since Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk, was beheaded in 1572, the Dukedom remaining in abeyance until 1660. Blague's speechtag may have added somewhat to the local color, however, for "Belted Will" Howard, third son of the Fourth Duke of Norfolk (certainly recognized as such by his contemporaries), kept his manor house in Enfield Chase, the setting used for *The Merry Devil*. On December 19, 1601, Queen Elizabeth regranted to the Howards their lands of which "she had formerly been adjudged to be the possessor" (Ornsby, *Household Books of Lord William Howard*, p. xviii). If the theatre patrons were aware of this regrant, they might have thought Blague's catchphrase to be topical. Such a conjecture justifies itself only if the play be dated after December 19, 1601. (4) The references to deer poaching in Enfield Chase can have no bearing on the date of the play, for the *Middlesex County Records* (see above, p. 26) show that such predatory adventures were common occurrences.

[37] Baldwin Maxwell, *"Wily Beguild," S. P.*, XIX (1922), 206-237.

[38] Adams, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 221; F. J. Furnivall, "Parallels," *N. Q.*, 5th ser., IV (Aug. 21, 1875), 144; E. Landesberg, "Zur Verfasserfrage des anonymen Lustspiels Wily Beguiled," *E. S.*, XLIII (1911), 189; Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 53; Maxwell, *loc. cit.*

[39] Sharpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 87.

[40] ". . . give him leave to see The Merry Devil of Edmonton or A Woman Killed with Kindness. . . ." See above, p. 3.

[41] Heywood was paid in full for *A Woman Killed with Kindness* on March

As has been seen earlier in this section, the years 1597 and 1598, as suggested dates of composition for our play, have been favored in part because of Drayton's postulated authorship, argued by Fleay, or Shakespeare's, argued by Hopkinson. In the final analysis, no doubt, the date assigned will be influenced by the authorship advanced. If, then, Thomas Dekker is the author of *The Merry Devil,* what is the most likely date of composition suggested by his known dramatic activities?

The earliest record of Dekker's work as a dramatist appears in *Henslowe's Diary,*[42] when, on January 8, 1598, he received payment for a book (i.e., a play). This does not represent his first work, however, for in September of this same year Francis Meres mentions him as being among the best for tragedy.[43] During 1598 he wrote two plays alone and collaborated in fourteen.[44] It is unlikely, then, that he was only a beginner as a dramatist; it is also unlikely that he wrote *The Merry Devil* during such a busy year. In 1599 he composed four plays alone, collaborated in two others, and revised *Old Fortunatus.* In 1600 he is responsible for one play, written alone, four plays in collaboration, and one 1598 play altered for presentation at the Court. There is no record of any work, other than alterations, from September, 1600, to April, 1601. During 1602 he was paid for five collaborated pieces, one comedy written alone, and some miscellaneous work, such as alterations and additions.[45]

Moreover, it should be noted that all these plays were written for Henslowe and acted at the Rose until the latter half of 1600, and then at the newly-built Fortune.[46] Miss Hunt thinks that the unexplained gap in the list of plays for 1600 and the mention of but a single play for 1601 point to incompleteness in the records preserved in *Henslowe's Diary.*[47] But since, as she admits, by the end of 1602 Dekker had apparently ceased writing

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6, 1602/03 (Greg, *Henslowe's Diary,* II, 234), and its deserved run was cut short by the closing of the theatres on May 17, 1603. See Sharpe, *op. cit.,* p. 220.

[42] Greg, I, 83.

[43] *Palladis Tamia* (New Shakespeare Society), Series IV, p. 161.

[44] Greg, *Henslowe's Diary,* II, 367-368.

[45] Hunt, *op. cit.,* p. 48. See also Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage,* III, 303-304.

[46] Hunt, *op. cit.,* p. 47. [47] II, 367.

regularly for Henslowe, it is just as probable that the record is complete and that even as early as 1600 and 1601 he was writing plays for other troupes.[48]

From 1608 to 1661 *The Merry Devil* belonged to Shakespeare's company,[49] to whom, presumably, it had belonged from its composition. The earliest record we have of Dekker's relation to this troupe is dated January 30, 1599.[50] About August or September, 1601, he completed *Satiromastix,* a play acted by the Chamberlain's Men and the Children of St. Pauls. By the end of 1602 he was no longer a regular Henslowe's man.[51] If he wrote *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,*[52] he would seem to have done so between 1601 and May 17, 1603. In the light of our present knowledge, a more definite date cannot be assigned.

THE TEXT

The multifarious sins of the careless author, the indifferent printer, and the injudicious reviser are evident in the 1608 edition of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.* Sins, they are, too, which are not corrected in any later and more reliable text. To be more specific, there is an appalling confusion in the names of the characters and in the assignment of speeches. Lines 31-37 of Act I, scene iii, are given to Peter Fabell, but we learn from line 38 that they were spoken by Frank Jerningham; lines 12-28, Act II, scene ii, are assigned to Sir Richard, but the context of lines 20-21 shows that this couplet surely belongs to Sir Arthur; in line 44, Act II, scene ii, Harry Clare is addressed as Ralph Clare, and in line 82 of the same scene and act the quarto reading, *M. Clare,* should be changed to *Mountchensey;* Sir Arthur Clare is referred to in Act II, scene iii, line 46, as Sir Richard Clare, and in Act III, scene i, line 69, Frank Jerningham is called Frank Clare; lines 49-52 of Act II, scene iii, are not assigned to Bilbo although the context clearly shows that he is the speaker; five lines (Act

[48] Dekker, unlike Heywood, who was an actor as well as a playwright, was apparently under no agreement to write solely for Henslowe's company.

[49] Albright, *op. cit.,* p. 127.

[50] Greg, *Henslowe's Diary,* I, 101. See also below, p. 73.

[51] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage,* III, 289.

[52] See below, pp. 72-103.

III, scene i, ll. 113-118) are given to Sir Arthur, but they should certainly be assigned to Sir Ralph; line 170 of Act III, scene ii, is absurd when spoken by Harry but appropriate if spoken by Raymond; although lines 7-18, Act V, scene i, are attributed to Sir Ralph, there is strong reason to believe that lines 9-18 should be given to Sir Arthur; and certainly in Act V, scene i, lines 19-26, given to Sir Arthur, and lines 27-31, given to Sir Ralph, are inaccurately attributed.

These errors point to hasty and careless workmanship, but they are by no means all the evidence. The great crux in the text (Act I, scene i, ll. 68-69), I believe, results from the omission of one or more lines; and something seems to have been lost between lines 83 and 85 of Act III, scene ii; for Brooke's conjectured line, though without authority, is essential to the correct grammatical structure of the passage.

Modern editors, furthermore, have found it necessary to supply many omitted exits and entrances. Though not included in the stage directions after line 28, Act I, scene iii, Harry Clare is found on the stage later in the scene; there is no stage direction to mark the exit of Sir Arthur and Lady Dorcas in Act II, scene ii, line 79, but there is every reason to believe that they leave the stage at this point; a similar omission appears in Act IV, scene i, line 137, where Milliscent, Frank, and Harry *exeunt;* and surely Bilbo's entrance must have been prior to line 269 of Act V, scene i, although the stage directions do not record it.

In addition to these errors, a large number of corrupt passages appear in *The Merry Devil.* In many instances the printer prints verse as prose, and prose as verse; Warnke-Proescholdt succeeded admirably in rearranging these passages, but some of them admit of correction only in part—that is, a passage will begin in verse and later break down into the poorest kind of halting prose. Such a passage is that of lines 57-69 of Act I, scene iii. In fact, this particular passage, with its comic touch as an appeal to the groundlings, seems entirely out of place and is perhaps the result of a later revision. It has been argued that lines 91-97, Act II, scene ii, need to be rearranged, and lines 22-26, Act II, scene iii, bear all the marks of a corrupt passage. The

words *Holy maidens* in Act III, scene ii, line 36, were printed as part of the stage directions in all the early editions, but they are obviously a part of the text. The breaking down of the verse and the awkward repetition of words and ideas in Act V, scene i, lines 19-30, may be evidence of careless revision, and the same may be said of a later passage, Act V, scene i, lines 51-62.

More significant, however, than either the corrupt passages or the omission of stage directions or perhaps a line or two of the text is the omission of entire episodes. Fortunately, allusions to these deleted scenes were not always removed from the text; thus we are able to reconstruct, at least in part, the framework of the complete version of the play. Some of these episodes may have consisted of only a few lines, but others were more important and possibly required entire scenes for their narration. We are surprised to discover in Act I, scene iii, lines 29-131, for instance, that Raymond is melancholy and brooding over the turn his romance with Milliscent is about to take; when so far as the present text reveals, he has not been informed of Sir Arthur's plan to deceive him. Milliscent is the only person who could have told him, and I think she did so in a passage which has been lost. The scene in which Sir Ralph Jerningham "forewarnd poore Raymonds company" (Act II, scene iii, l. 2) may also have been a part of the full version of the comedy, although this incident may have been off-stage business.

There are two omitted episodes, however, which did not take place off stage. Both should be placed between scene i and scene ii of Act III. In the first, Smug and his companions encounter the nuns of Cheston Priory;[1] in the second, Peter Fabell impersonates Friar Hildersham, deceives the two knights, and plans to send Raymond, disguised as a friar, to confess Milliscent.[2]

Furthermore, when Raymond calls at the nunnery, one of the nuns greets him and leaves the stage to report his mission to the Abbess (Act III, scene ii, l. 52); but the Abbess does not appear; to our surprise we learn later that Raymond saw several of the inmates (Act III, scene ii, l. 126); that the Lady Prioress

[1] See below, pp. 239-240.

[2] Unless the audience have seen this episode on the stage, lines 49-110 of Act V, scene i, lose their effectiveness as comedy.

gave him "ghostly counsell with hir blessing" (Act III, scene ii, ll. 129-130); and that he discussed Peter Fabell while at the nunnery (Act III, scene ii, ll. 142-148). Such allusions point to the former existence of a scene between Raymond and the Abbess. Since the love scene between Raymond and Milliscent is interrupted by the approach of an undesirable observer (Act III, scene ii, l. 119), and since the succeeding characters on the stage are Frank, Harry, and Fabell, whose approach would not have disturbed the lovers,[3] I conjecture that at this point (Act III, scene ii, l. 121) we should place the omitted scene between Raymond and the Abbess. In Act IV, scene i, line 154, we discover that Sir Arthur had learned of Milliscent's plan to take refuge in Brian's Lodge, but we are left to wonder how he acquired his information. This unsolved problem also suggests a deleted passage. One other omission remains to be mentioned: the scene in which Smug played the part of Saint George and thus lured the knights, and possibly the keepers, to the wrong inn. An account of this very amusing episode is preserved in Brewer's prose tract.[4]

For some reason, then, the only extant text of *The Merry Devil* is both mangled and abridged. Why it should have been shortened we cannot know; we can only guess. It may have been cut down for presentation on a short winter afternoon; Fleay suggested that it may have been one of *The Four Plays in One,* but I am unable to accept his suggestion;[5] too, it may have been curtailed for a performance at Court, but this suggestion also seems unlikely;[6] finally, like the pirated quarto of *Hamlet,* it may have been issued surreptitiously[7] and may have been

[3] These characters were present at a far more intimate scene between the lovers (Act II, scene iii, ll. 35-37), and no embarrassment resulted.

[4] See Appendix I, pp. 257-259. See also pp. 213-217.

[5] Cf. H. Dugdale Sykes, "The Authorship of *A Yorkshire Tragedy*," *J. E. G. P.*, XVI (1917), 437-453, for a more plausible theory concerning *The Four Plays in One.*

[6] It was presented at Court during the Christmas season of 1612-13 along with the better and longer plays of the King's troupe, and on Tuesday, November 6, 1638, the company left London and presented *The Merry Devil,* alone, at Richmond.

[7] Arthur Johnson, publisher of *The Merry Devil,* had previously issued the spurious copy of *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

printed from a discarded version—perhaps a traveling prompt copy—abridged for use on a provincial tour. The mangled text with its lack of dramatic unity, its corrupt passages, and its omitted scenes strongly suggests surreptitious publication. As a matter of fact, the imperative form of certain stage directions[8] seems to suggest a prompter's manuscript. The question as to whether a traveling version was employed, however, requires a more lengthy discussion. Since Johnson entered the play in the Stationers' Register on October 22, 1607, it seems reasonable to assume that he had it in his possession by this date. But even under the assumption that an abbreviated text was used, we cannot be sure of the date of its abridgment, nor can we know how much may have been added later in an attempt to perfect the text. Since the provincial tours of the London dramatic companies were determined largely by the severity of the plague, it may be well to survey briefly the principal tours of the King's Company from 1605, let us say, until the date Arthur Johnson entered the play in the Stationers' Register.

During the autumn of 1605 this troupe took a short tour, appearing at Oxford and Barnstaple.[9] But they evidently returned to London by the beginning of the Christmas festivities of 1605-06, for during these festivities they performed no fewer than ten plays at Court. By July 10, 1606, the plague deaths exceeded thirty a week, and the company was forced to leave London. Records of this tour, by no means complete, of course, show that they visited Marlborough, Oxford, Leicester, Saffron Walden, Dover, and Maidstone. Their appearance at Court about Christmas supplies an approximate date for their return to London but does not necessarily imply that the London theatres were open; it is more likely that they were not, since, except for a week or two in November and December, until January 8, 1607, the death-rate from the plague did not fall below thirty. We assume that the theatres were open for the succeeding six

[8] See Prologue, line 33: *Draw the Curtaines;* Induction, line 41: *Sit downe;* Act III, scene ii, line 36: *Knocke . . . Answere within;* and Act IV, scene i, line 127: *A voyse within: Follow, follow, follow.*

[9] For these facts I am indebted to J. T. Murray's *English Dramatic Companies,* I, 150 ff.

months, but from July 9 to November 19, 1607, the company was again out of London. And on October 22, 1607, Johnson entered the play. In other words, what may have happened, and it seems as likely to be correct as any other supposition, is this: at some time prior to July 10, 1606, traveling versions of the more popular plays belonging to the King's Company were prepared. *The Merry Devil* was among these popular plays. The fair copy, given the actors by the dramatist and later converted into a prompt-copy, was safely stored away. The company thus preserved the complete version at home while using the shortened version in the country. They returned to London some time before the Christmas season, 1606-07, hoping to begin their performances at the Globe. The persistent severity of the plague, however, kept the theatres closed longer than usual. As a result, some more or less unprincipled actor, or actors, may have secured the old traveling version without the knowledge of the entire company, patched it up as occasion offered, and finally sold it to Arthur Johnson. Consequently, while the troupe toured the provinces during the following summer, Johnson entered the play as his, and at some date in 1608 saw his copy through the press.

. . . . . .

The edition of 1608 is taken to be the *Editio Princeps* of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* and of this edition four copies[10] have been preserved. That these copies contain formes which underwent press-corrections has long been known, but the order in which they were corrected has not before been established. The corrections occur in four formes—Outer A, Outer B, Inner C, and Outer E. The Induction, line 79,[11] contains the first variant of the 1608 copies. Q1(C^2), Q1(F), and Q1(H) read *Phaetentique;* Q1(W) reads *Phaetontique.* Since *Phaetontique* is obviously a correction of *Phaetentique,* the first state of outer forme A is preserved in Q1(C^2), Q1(F), and Q1(H). The corrected state is preserved in Q1(W). Inner forme C contains no fewer

[10] I describe them as Q1(W): the White copy; Q1(C^2): the Trinity College (Cambridge) copy; Q1(F): the Folger copy; and Q1(H): the Huntington copy.

[11] Sig., $A4^v$, line 32.

than three variants, and outer forme E contains one variant[12] which reveals two states of correction. In each instance Q1(W) preserves the uncorrected state, and Q1(C^2), Q1(F), and Q1(H) preserve the corrected state.

The variant readings of $B4^v$, however, demand a special discussion. Outer forme B contains further variants,[13] but for this forme Q1(W) and Q1(C^2) preserve the uncorrected state while Q1(F) and Q1(H) represent the corrected state. As a matter of fact, line 9 of $B4^v$ was altered a second time, as is shown in the variants of Act I, scene iii, line 92: *should haue rest* Q1(W) and Q1(C^2); *should haue rose* Q1(F); and *would haue rose* Q1(H). Whether to accept *would haue rose* Q1(H) as a deliberate revision of *should haue rose* Q1(F) must remain a moot question; but we can be certain that the original version, *should haue rest* Q1(W)(C^2), represents the original reading of the first word of the phrase. When it was discovered that $B4^v$ contained four erroneous readings, the press was stopped, and the corrections preserved in Q1(F)(H) were made. The line containing *should haue rest* was then revised, and *rest,* obviously unsuited to the context, was corrected to *rose.* The order of correction can thus be described if we assume that at this time only *rest* underwent revision:

1		2		3
Q1(W)(C^2)	⟶	Q1(F)	⟶	Q1(H)
should haue rest		*should haue rose*		*would haue rose*

If, however, both *rest* and *should* were altered, the order of change would read in this manner:

1		2		3
Q1(W)(C^2)	⟶	Q1(H)	⟶	Q1(F)
should haue rest		*would haue rose*		*should haue rose*

I believe the first diagram more likely to be correct than the second. Whereas the compositor might easily set up *rest* from *rose,* he would not mistake the ligature *ſh* for the letter *w*. A

[12] See textual notes: Act II, scene i, lines 28 and 66; scene iii, line 57; and Act V, scene i, line 20.

[13] See textual notes: Act I, scene iii, lines 90, 92, 98, and 111.

careful examination of both *should* and *would* in the two states of correction shows that the letters *ould* were imprinted by the same type in each state. Moreover, the relative position of the words following *ould* is identical in each corrected state of the page.

Although the evidence is insufficient to prove conclusively that the same type for the ligature was employed for both states of correction or that the type used in the second state is different from that used in the first, it should be recorded that the resemblance of the *ſh* in the uncorrected, to that in the corrected state, is very close. How, then, did *w* happen to become substituted for the ligature? Sheer lack of information reduces any explanation to conjecture, and such is mine: The corrected state of $B4^{v}$, as has been pointed out, reveals that four erroneous readings existed in the uncorrected state. When these errors were removed in $B4^{v}$, it was necessary to unlock outer forme B, thus permitting a general loosening of the type in this forme. As proof that loosening occurred I cite the following evidence:

(1) The period after *S* in *S. George* ($B1^{r}$, line 25) is present in $Q1(C^{2})$ (W) (F), but it has been lost or has failed to print in Q1(H).

(2) The letter *l* in *onely* ($B2^{v}$, line 21) is quite distinct in $Q1(C^{2})$ and visible though dim in Q1(W), but it has dropped out completely in Q1(F) (H). The *would* for *should* appears in Q1(H). I conjecture, therefore, that in a similar manner the ligature was displaced and that the compositor, seeing *ould,* supplied the letter *w* instead of the lost *ſh.*

The following table shows clearly the location of the original and corrected formes in the four copies of the 1608 edition:

TABLE I

	W	C^{2}	F	H
Outer forme A.....	X	O	O	O
Outer forme B.....	O	O	X	Y
Inner forme C.....	O	X	X	X
Outer forme E.....	O	X	X	X

O = uncorrected or original state.
X = first state of correction.
Y = second state of alteration (correction?).

The readings of these passages in Q2 show that it was set up from a copy of Q1 in which all four of these formes (Outer A, Outer B, Inner C, and Outer E) were uncorrected. In Act II, scene iii, line 57,[14] the Q1(W) reading *fall well* appears in Q1(C^2), Q1(F), and Q1(H) correctly as *full well*. The erroneous reading *fall well* also appeared in Q2 and Q3. The editor, compositor, or press-reader of Q4 emended it to *farewell,* an emendation accepted by all later editors until Warnke-Proescholdt, having collated Q1(C^2), made the correction. Another significant variant with a similar history is found in Act V, scene i, line 20,[15] where the Q1(W) reading *hurt your heate* appeared as *hurt your health* in the other copies of the 1608 edition. Q2 reads *heate;* this it would not have done if the copy-text used for Q2 had contained the corrected forme of Q1. The happy though entirely incorrect emendation of *heart* for *heate* appeared in Q3; but Q2 was employed as copy-text for Q4; thus *heate* once more became the accepted reading. Warnke-Proescholdt gave the authentic reading in their edition of 1884. That outer forme B in Q2 was likewise derived from the uncorrected state of this quire in Q1 can easily be shown. For instance, the corrected state in Q1(F) and Q1(H), Act I, scene iii, line 90,[16] reads: *I haue taught the watchfull Niting-gale to wake;* the uncorrected state in Q1(W) and Q1(C^2) reads: *I haue taught the Niting-gale to wake.* For metrical improvement, the editor, compositor, or press-reader of Q2 added *And* to the beginning of the line as it appeared in Q1(W) and Q1(C^2); this addition would have been unnecessary if he had been following a corrected state of the sheet. Certainly he would have retained *watchfull,* had it been known to him, for its presence in the corrected state of the line suggests the hand of a poet rather than that of a print-shop employee. Additional proof of the indebtedness of Q2 to the uncorrected state of outer forme B could be cited.[17]

One significant variant between Q1(W)-Q1(C^2) and Q1(F)-Q1(H) remains to be mentioned. The uncorrected state of outer forme B lacks an entire line[18] which is supplied in

[14] $C4^v$, line 34. [15] $E4^v$, line 14. [16] $B4^v$, line 7.
[17] See textual notes: Act I, scene iii, lines 92 and 98.
[18] Act I, scene iii, line 111.

the corrected state of that forme in Q1(F) and Q1(H); yet the missing line does appear in Q2. Assuming, then, that the compositor of Q2 employed a copy with the uncorrected state of outer forme B, how did he recover this dropped line? Two conjectures suggest themselves readily. One possibility is that the missing line may have been written in the copy-text; another is that on page $B4^v$ the dropped line had been restored, although the other erroneous readings found in the original state of this page remained uncorrected; thus $B4^v$ was a part of a forme representing a state of correction between that of Q1(W)(C^2) and that of Q1(H)(F). It would be rash to assume that because we have this particular forme in two states, no other state ever existed.

More important than the problem of whether Q1(W) served as copy for Q2 is that of the relationship between Q1 and Q2, Q1 and Q3, and Q2 and Q3. The first three editions are dated 1608, 1612, and 1617. Since they were issued by the same publisher, Arthur Johnson, it may be assumed that they are closely related to each other. The exact nature of this relationship, however, has been a matter of controversy. Finding readings in Q3 taken from Q2 rather than from Q1, when the Q1 readings were to be preferred, Warnke-Proescholdt suggested the existence of an hypothetical edition dated between that of Q1 and Q2. From this hypothetical edition, they argued, were derived both Q2 and Q3. I can find no reason for assuming that an unknown edition of the play ever appeared,[19] and I believe that a more plausible explanation of the readings of Q3 can be found.

Table 1 shows that in respect to the variant readings found in the four copies of the 1608 edition not one of the four is like any other copy. We can therefore recognize four different arrangements of families of corrected and uncorrected formes, each edition representing a different arrangement or family. Obviously if we had a larger number of copies to compare, we

[19] Warnke-Proescholdt admit that their hypothetical edition seems to have been "a mere reprint of Q1" and that "it differs from Q1 only in subordinate and unimportant points" (Introduction, p. vii).

should expect to find other families of variant formes. We can then safely assume that the copy of Q1 from which Q2 was set up belonged to another such family; that is, the arrangement of corrected and uncorrected readings in it was different from that of any known copy. The modern editor of an Elizabethan play must remember that the forme and not the edition itself should be considered the unit.

If no edition between 1608 and 1612 ever existed, from which of the first two quartos did Q3 derive? Q2, of course, derived from Q1. I offer evidence to show that Q3 descended from Q1 and not from Q2. The variants included in this list are not significant from the literary point of view;[20] yet in every instance the reading of Q2 is as good as that of Q1, and would never have aroused the suspicion of the compositor or press-corrector if he had been using Q2 as copy-text. Let us consider the following: Act I, scene i, line 3: *in* Q2, *is* Q1, Q3; line 41: *tend to* Q2, *tend* Q1, Q3; scene iii, line 68: *this out of* Q2, *out this of* Q1, Q3; Act II, scene i, line 23: *and* Q2, *in* Q1, Q3; Act IV, scene i, line 24: *an* Q2, *the* Q1, Q3; line 117: *hapned'st* Q2, *hapd'st* Q1, Q3; Act V, scene i, line 48: *this* Q2, *the* Q1, Q3; line 82: *in* Q2, *of* Q1, Q3; and line 95: *my* Q2, *the* Q1, Q3. Additional examples of such trivial variants could be added to the list.[21]

Furthermore, there are a number of radical variants, but for each variant the reading of Q2 suits the context as well as does that of Q1. As examples, consider Act I, scene iii, line 85: *Where ere did'st meete me, but we two were Iouiall* Q2, *Where ere did we meete thee and wanton springs* Q1, Q3; Act I, scene iii, line 98: *leaue the loue* Q2, *ouergiue loue* Q1, *o'regiue loue* Q3; Act II, scene i, line 66: *this Boore* Q2, *this is a Boore* Q1, Q3; and Act V, scene i, line 50: *knauery, knauery, knauery, knauery* Q2, *knauery, knauery, knauery* Q1, Q3. This list, too, could be increased easily.[22] For each variant given in the above lists I have

[20] "It is a general rule," writes R. B. McKerrow, "that the less significant the readings varied are, from the literary point of view, the greater are their weight as evidence of the genetic relationship of the texts in which they occur" (*Prolegomena,* p. 106).

[21] See textual notes: Act I, scene ii, line 25; scene iii, line 144; Act II, scene i, line 42; Act IV, scene i, line 27; and scene ii, line 26.

[22] See textual notes: Act I, scene iii, line 86; Act II, scene ii, line 57; Act IV, scene i, line 36; and Act V, scene i, lines 12 and 135.

asked myself two questions: Could the compositor of Q3, using Q2 as a copy-text (at least the Q2 as we have it) have had any reason for setting up a reading other than that which he found? Would a press-corrector, carefully reading his formes, have changed the reading of Q2 to that of Q1? The answer to each of these questions when applied to the individual variant has been in the negative. I have kept in mind this recognized truth: the relationship of editions cannot be determined merely by the number of variants; it must be determined by the nature of the individual variant.

As further evidence that Q3 derived from Q1 I submit the following table, containing a list of readings which are erroneous in Q1, correct in Q2, and which remain erroneous in Q3. Mere spelling variants are not included.

TABLE 2

		Q1	Q2	Q3
I.i.34	B1^{v},2	souldiers face	souldier, face	souldiers face
I.i.69	B2^{r},1	curres eate him	curres eate his	curres eate him
I.ii.23	B2^{v},27	S. Quintus	S. Quintins	S. Quintus
I.iii.90	B4^{v},7	I haue . . . Niting-gale	And I haue . . . Nitingale	I haue . . . Nitingale
I.iii.91	B4^{v},8	spring	sprung	spring
I.iii.92	B4^{v},9	rest	list	rest
II.i.44-45	C1^{v},32	at the George	of the George	at the George

It is significant that in this table the evidence is limited to sheets B and C. As a matter of fact, evidence assembled from the variant readings of sheet D shows that for this particular sheet, at least, Q3 did not derive from Q1. In four variants Q3 perpetuates the erroneous reading of Q2 when that of Q1 is correct. Such contradictory evidence led me to a comparison not only of variant readings in Q1 and Q3, but also of all variants in the use of italics and of capital letters. The results of this comparison seem worth recording. Q2 was set by two compositors. Compositor A followed his copy faithfully, setting roman for roman, italic for italic, lower case for lower case, and capital letter for capital letter. Compositor B, on the other hand, set in italics 159 words not italicized in his copy and substituted 187 capital letters for lower case. Compositor A set up the second

four pages of every gathering; compositor B set up the first four pages.[23] In other words, whenever there is disagreement between Q1 and Q2, the variant falls within the first four pages of the eight-page gathering and not within the second four pages.

Moreover, wherever this disagreement appears, Q3 follows Q1 faithfully in every gathering except outer and inner forme D, where it consistently follows Q2. The Q1 copy-text used for Q3 must have been an imperfect copy, in which gathering D had been supplied from Q2. The compositor of Q3, employing as copy a text of Q1 containing sheet D from Q2, would naturally set a text agreeing—in this one forme—with Q2. Warnke-Proescholdt conjectured the existence of an hypothetical edition because they found in Q3 erroneous readings taken from Q2 when the Q1 readings were correct. Such a conjecture is no longer necessary, for these erroneous readings appear in gathering D. Finally, this evidence from the use of italics and capitals corroborates the textual evidence showing that Q3 derived from Q1.

A cursory examination shows that Q4 and Q5 derive from Q2. Both Q4 (1626) and Q5 (1631) were published by Francis Faulkner, and they compose the second group of early quartos. The influence of Q2 is apparent through the continuation of such trivial variants as: Act I, scene i, line 3: *is* Q3, *in* Q2, Q4; line 41: *tend my* Q3, *tend to my* Q2, Q4; scene iii, line 144: *Yet* Q3, *And* Q2, Q4; Act II, scene i, line 23: *in* Q3, *and* Q2, Q4; Act IV, scene i, line 24: *the* Q3, *an* Q2, Q4. I could add other variants of this nature.[24] Moreover, Q4 adopted many Q2 variants—not the insignificant sort—which suit the context as well as do the Q1 and Q3 readings.[25] In Q4 we meet with many mistakes belonging only to Q2,[26] as well as with forty errors introduced

[23] Compositor A Agree Q1 and Q2 $A3^r$ — $A4^v$ | Compositor B Disagree Q1 and Q2 $B1^r$ — $B2^v$ | Compositor A Agree Q1 and Q2 $B3^r$ — $B4^v$ | Compositor B Disagree Q1 and Q2 $C1^r$ — $C2^v$ | Compositor A Agree Q1 and Q2, etc. $C3^r$ — $C4^v$, etc.

[24] For examples, see textual notes: Act I, scene iii, line 68; Act II, scene i, lines 42 and 66; and Act V, scene i, lines 48, 82 and 95.

[25] See textual notes: Act I, scene iii, lines 85, 86, and 98; Act IV, scene i, lines 36 and 117; and Act V, scene i, lines 12, 50, and 135.

[26] See textual notes: Induction, line 39; Act I, scene iii, line 92; Act II,

into the text for the first time.[27] In conformity with the statute of King James I, the editor of Q4 either altered or omitted the name of God, substituted *by the mass* or *by my sword* for *by the Lord,* and always printed *blood* for *zblood, foot* for *sfoot, life* for *slife,* etc. In many instances, however, the editor of Q4 succeeded in correcting errors existing in his copy-text, particularly in such matters as omitted stage directions and prefixes and incorrectly attributed speeches. In my opinion he succeeded in giving the correct reading for Act I, scene i, line 16; Act II, scene i, line 6; scene ii, lines 5 and 54; scene iii, lines 2, 16, and 27; Act IV, scene i, line 114; and Act V, scene i, lines 165 and 278. He was also successful in supplying omitted stage directions for Act I, scene iii, line 146; Act II, scene ii, line 79; and Act V, scene i, lines 110 and 240. In three instances[28] he supplied a missing prefix, and in four cases[29] corrected erroneous speech-tags. Except for these corrections where Q4 differs from Q1-Q3, I have accepted the reading which I consider to be the original one.

Issued five years afterwards by the same publisher, Q5 agrees in all essential matters with Q4. In Q5 I find only one alteration which can be called an improvement over its predecessor, namely, the correct placing of the stage direction after Act I, scene iii, line 28. The editor of Q5, however, introduced no fewer than thirty-nine errors of his own, fourteen of which remained in the text of all succeeding editions until that of Warnke-Proescholdt in 1884. On six occasions[30] he failed to include a word or words which must be accepted as a part of the text. Four of his errors being obvious mistakes, they were

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scene iii, line 65; Act IV, scene ii, lines 5 and 26; and Act V, scene i, lines 20 and 153.

[27] It should perhaps be recorded that thirty-six of these erroneous readings remained as a part of the text until 1884, when Warnke-Proescholdt issued the first edition derived from a collation of all the old quartos.

[28] Act I, scene iii, line 31; Act II, scene ii, lines 20 and 22.

[29] Act IV, scene i, line 12; scene ii, line 63; and Act V, scene i, lines 72 and 113.

[30] See textual notes: Act III, scene i, line 21; scene ii, line 19; S. D. after Act IV, scene ii, line 5; and Act V, scene i, lines 18, 73, and 137-138.

not perpetuated in any later quartos. Three were carried over to Q6. Eleven are found in Dodsley's edition.

Twenty-four years after the publication of Q5, W. Gilbertson issued the last of the quartos, Q6 (1655). Clearly this quarto was printed from Q5;[31] yet Q6 as an edition is decidedly superior to Q5, for its editor removed many hitherto unobserved errors. In eight instances[32] he corrected inaccurate speech-tags, and in four,[33] supplied omitted, or else emended erroneous stage directions. Unquestionably, however, his most significant improvements were his attempts to regulate the versification of the play. In all he revised nine passages; of these I accept seven[34] and reject two.[35] On the other hand, in his attempt to modernize and clarify his text, he introduced a large number of errors of his own making. He seems to have had a special antipathy for contractions, since he expanded no fewer than thirteen such forms. As typical examples I cite *the other* for *th'other, there is* for *theres, where is* for *wheres, fellest* for *felst, who is* for *whoes, is it* for *is't,* etc. The editor of Q6 frequently supplied missing prepositions and articles[36] if he deemed them necessary for clearness, and he seems never to have hesitated to substitute words or phrases[37] to clarify an ambiguous reading. Obviously, how-

[31] A list of the glaring mistakes adopted from Q5 follows: Prologue, line 36: *his sable* for *these sable;* Induction, S. D.: *start* for *stare;* Act I, scene ii, line 11: *Giberlaters* for *Giberalters;* scene iii, line 42: *of* for *vpon*. The adoptions continue throughout the play. See, for examples, textual notes: Act II, scene i, lines 5 and 24-25; scene ii, lines 45 and 84; scene iii, lines 39 and 40; Act III, scene i, lines 18 and 115; Act IV, scene i, lines 125 and 129; scene ii, lines 29 and 43; and Act V, scene i, lines 66, 144, 200, 246, and 273.

[32] See textual notes: Act II, scene ii, line 44; Act III, scene i, lines 69 and 113; scene ii, line 151; Act IV, scene i, lines 99 and 153; and Act V, scene i, lines 106 and 107.

[33] See textual notes: Act I, scene iii, line 28; Act III, scene ii, line 172; Act IV, scene i, line 177; and Act V, scene i, line 240.

[34] Induction, lines 5-6; Act II, scene iii, lines 22-24; Act III, scene i, lines 69-70; scene ii, lines 128-130; and Act V, scene i, lines 43-45, 85-88, and 216-217.

[35] Act III, scene i, lines 27-28 and 89-90.

[36] See textual notes: Act I, scene i, line 16; Act II, scene iii, line 52; and Act V, scene i, lines 70 and 72.

[37] As examples: *neare* for *meane, between* for *betwixt, heels* for *feete, that*

ever, such emendations must be rejected by the modern editor. Finally, Q6 lacks five stage directions[38] which appear in the copy-text, and contains three misprints[39] which appear only in the edition of 1655.

In 1744, eighty-nine years after Q6, the first modern edition of *The Merry Devil* appeared in Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays*.[40] Dodsley's statement that he printed his edition from the quarto of 1655[41] is supported by textual evidence of an irrefutable nature. He adopted no fewer than fifty-three erroneous readings which appeared for the first time in Q6. These include omitted stage directions, expanded contractions, and independent emendations. He likewise profited from the corrections made by the editor of Q6. In his attempts to clarify obscure passages Dodsley introduced a few readings[42] which cannot be accepted as valid. To these errors should be added his conjectural alterations, such as *many* for *often* (Prologue, l. 30); *with* for *in* (Induction, l. 27); *the third* for *a third* (Act I, scene i, l. 56); *pursy* for *busy* (Act I, scene iii, l. 73); *scatter'd* for *scard* (Act II, scene i, l. 56); *renounce* for *remoue* (Act III, scene i, l. 79); and others recorded in my textual notes. Scattered omissions of words and occasional inverted word-order add to the general unreliability of Dodsley's edition. In my opinion, however, he successfully corrected hitherto erroneous readings in Act I, scene i, line 71; scene iii, line 88; Act II, scene i, line 68; and Act IV, scene i, line 174. He was the first editor to make *Holy maidens* (Act III, scene ii, l. 36) a part of the text, and the first to move the stage direction *Enter Nun* (Act III, scene ii, l. 38) to the center of the page. Both of these changes were necessary.

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we must of force for *what of force, further* for *future, Nun-maid* for *Nun-made, Skinner* for *skinker*, etc.

[38] See Prologue, line 41; Induction, line 83; Act I, scene i, line 37; Act III, scene i, line 118; and Act IV, scene ii, line 76.

[39] Induction, line 1; Act III, scene i, line 56; and Act V, scene i, line 60.

[40] XI, 123-169.

[41] *Ibid.*, XI, 124.

[42] He emends *via* to *voyez* (Act I, scene ii, l. 4); *lanch* to *launch* (Act I, scene iii, l. 73); *bonasosis* [Q4-Q6 reading of *bosonians*] to *bona socias* (Act II, scene i, l. 60); and *scamble* to *scramble* (Act III, scene ii, l. 159).

In 1780 Isaac Reed[43] edited the second edition of Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays,* "Corrected and collated with the old copies," so says the title page. For *The Merry Devil,*[44] Reed says he had recourse to Q3-Q5; he did not see a copy of Q1, and he apparently did not know about the edition of 1612. In his judgment "that of 1655 [Q6] from which the former edition [Dodsley's] of this play was printed, is unworthy of any notice from the number of errors it contains."[45] To Reed's statement[46] that he silently removed several of Dodsley's innovations[47] it should be added that he accepted, likewise silently, a number of Dodsley's errors; thus he reprints *with* for *in* (Induction, l. 27); *the third* for *a third* (Act I, scene i, l. 56); *Young Cla.* for *Young Ier.* (Act I, scene ii, l. 48); *on* for *of* (Act I, scene iii, l. 42); *launch* for *lanch* (Act I, scene iii, l. 73); *into* for *vnto* (Act II, scene iii, l. 40); *renounce* for *remoue* (Act III, scene i, l. 79); *Porter's* for *Potters* (Act IV, scene i, l. 36); and *not thou* for *thou not* (Act V, scene i, l. 115). Moreover, Reed perpetuated a number of errors which appear first in Q6 and are continued in Dodsley's edition.[48] At the same time, he introduced some twenty errors of his own. Several readings, however, could have come only from quartos prior to Q6; from Q3 he seems to have taken *haue* (Act I, scene iii, l. 133), *Gods* (Act II, scene ii, l. 38), and *Lord* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 57), since in each instance all quartos between Q3 and Reed either omit or vary the reading. Only Q3 agrees with Reed in Act V, scene i, line 189, and Act I, scene iii, line 98; and only Q1 and Q3 agree with him in Act I, scene ii, line 25, and Act II, scene iii, line 65. Reed did not consult Q1. His further indebtedness to the early quartos is

[43] Both George Steevens and Samuel Pegge contributed explanatory notes. See Reed's Preface, I, xx.

[44] V, 245-306.

[45] *Ibid.*, V, 306.

[46] See I, xviii.

[47] For instance, note *many* for *often* (Prologue, l. 30); *voyez* for *via* (Act I, scene ii, l. 4); *pursy* for *busy* (Act I, scene iii, l. 73); *As any in* for *As is in* (Act I, scene iii, l. 111), etc.

[48] See textual notes: Induction, line 84; Act I, scene i, lines 16, 35, and 73; Act II, scene i, lines 36 and 48; scene iii, line 52; Act III, scene i, lines 27-28 and 89-90; and Act IV, scene i, lines 3, 22, 66, 111, 134, and 164. The list could be substantially increased.

recorded in my textual notes.[49] On the whole, however, Reed followed the versions represented by Q5, Q6, and Dodsley. In only four instances can I accept Reed's alterations: Act I, scene ii, S. D. after line 31; Act II, scene iii, line 46; Act III, scene i, lines 113-115; and Act IV, scene i, lines 77-80.

In 1810 *The Merry Devil* was published in *The Ancient British Drama,*[50] Reed's edition of 1780 serving as copy-text. Since the editor[51] consulted none of the earlier editions, agreement with Dodsley's edition of 1744 (Induction, l. 1); with Q6 (Act IV, scene i, l. 85); and with Q3 (Induction, l. 3) must be attributed to pure chance. Scott's reading of *wean* for *waine* (Act II, scene iii, l. 22) is an unnecessary emendation.

In the following year Ludwig Tieck's translation of the play appeared in his *Alt-englisches Theater* (1811).[52] Tieck translated from Reed's edition of Dodsley. In my explanatory notes I have quoted Tieck's interpretation whenever his lines shed light on an ambiguous passage.

The third edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays,* edited by J. P. Collier[53] in 1825, contains *The Merry Devil.* Again Reed's edition of 1780 served as copy-text. At least seven[54] of Collier's readings, however, could not have been taken from Reed, and four[55] must have come from one of the quartos. In the Induction, line 1, and in Act III, scene i, S. D., Collier prints readings earlier than those in Q6; whereas his *vpon* (Act I, scene iii, l. 42) is to be found no later than Q4. The emendation *a hem* for *a hen* (Act II,

[49] See Act III, scene ii, line 15, and Act V, scene i, lines 70, 99, 137-138, and 200.

[50] II, 238-257.

[51] Generally supposed to be Walter Scott.

[52] II, 112-204.

[53] The title page reads, in part, "with Additional Notes and Corrections by the late Isaac Reed, Octavius Gilchrist, and the Editor." *The Merry Devil* is found in Vol. V, pp. 217-273.

[54] See textual notes: Act I, scene ii, line 25; scene iii, lines 98 and 110; Act II, scene ii, initial S. D., and line 57; scene iii, line 49; and Act III, scene ii, S. D. after line 121.

[55] Act I, scene i, line 102; Act III, scene i, line 79; scene ii, lines 149-150; and Act V, scene i, line 251.

scene i, l. 68) is either a felicitous conjecture or a correction from Dodsley, for only in Dodsley does it earlier appear. Collier's attempts to clear up the confused prose and verse passages were successful, I think, in Act I, scene i, lines 5-7 and 10-14; scene iii, lines 61-66 and 68-69; Act II, scene i, lines 24-27; Act III, scene ii, lines 151-159 and 163-166; Act IV, scene ii, lines 66-67; and Act V, scene i, lines 237-240. He is in error, however, in Act I, scene iii, lines 116-121; Act III, scene ii, line 148; and Act V, scene i, lines 19-20 and 72-74. His *all's* for *all* (Act I, scene i, l. 73) and *tippit* for *lippit* (Act III, scene ii, l. 138) are correct emendations, but I cannot accept his *faith* for *saith* (Act I, scene i, l. 28), *England* for *Enfeild* [*sic*] (Act IV, scene ii, l. 8), and *it's* for *'tis* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 71). His misprints and alterations elsewhere[56] are of lesser importance.

The Doubtful Plays of Shakespeare, edited by Henry Tyrrell in 1851, reprints[57] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*[58] from the 1825 Collier edition. Tyrrell adopts from his immediate predecessor both errors and corrections. In Act I, scene i, line 71, it is true, he prints correctly *A* for *Or;* but Collier queried *A* in a footnote, guessing from context. Tyrrell conjectures *speech* for an obviously dropped word in line 77 of Act III, scene i, explaining that the "old copies" reveal the omission; as a matter of fact, only in Collier's edition does the error appear. I cannot explain why he rejects Collier's emendation of *tippit* for *lippit* (Act III, scene ii, l. 138).

The fourth edition of Dodsley, edited by W. Carew Hazlitt, appeared in 1875. Although Hazlitt rejected twenty-one plays included in Collier's edition, he reprinted *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.*[59] The earlier editions of Dodsley, especially Collier's, seem to have served as textual sources. Thus he adopted these errors from Collier: *faith* for *saith* (Act I, scene i, l. 28); *over-*

[56] Act I, scene i, line 64; scene iii, line 74; Act III, scene i, line 77; scene ii, line 170; and Act IV, scene i, line 100.

[57] The title page of the collection, however, boldly declares that the dramas included have been "revised from the original editions."

[58] Pp. 300-323. [59] X, 201-264.

run for *o'rerun* (Act I, scene i, l. 64); *in the meane* for *in meane* (Act I, scene iii, l. 74); *lie* for *lies* (Act III, scene ii, l. 170); *England* for *Enfeild* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 8); and *it's* for *'tis* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 71). Hazlitt also profited from Collier's corrections, especially in the matter of printing as prose, passages which appear as verse in the quartos.[60] From Dodsley's first collection (1744) he seems to have taken a few readings,[61] although he must have consulted the early quartos[62] for others.[63] Hazlitt's emendations represent a desire to clarify the context rather than an attempt to reprint early quarto readings. His edition, therefore, does not have the authority required by the modern textual critic.[64]

The first edition to have such authority is that edited by Karl Warnke and Ludwig Proescholdt (Halle, 1884). They were the first editors to include collations from Q1 and Q2, the first to supply act and scene divisions, and the first to use $Q1^{65}$ as a basic text. That every later editor must remain indebted to these two scholars is patent. They not only rejected a large number of hitherto accepted erroneous readings,[66] but they also did more than any previous editor to correct and regulate the versification of the play. Thus they printed correctly as prose many passages

[60] Examples are Act I, scene i, lines 5-7 and 10-14; scene iii, lines 61-66 and 68-69; Act II, scene i, lines 24-27; Act IV, scene ii, lines 66-67; and Act V, scene i, lines 237-240.

[61] See textual notes: Act I, scene i, line 71; Act II, scene ii, line 91; Act III, scene ii, line 53; and Act IV, scene ii, line 31.

[62] Hazlitt did not see the *Editio Princeps* (1608), and he was not aware of an edition in 1612.

[63] He reads *mesh* (Act III, scene ii, l. 15), quoting *masse* as the reading of the old editions; whereas only Q1-Q3 read *masse;* he accepts the Q1-Q6 *further* (Act V, scene i, l. 58) when Dod.-Tyr. read *farther.*

[64] No modern editor, without authentic textual support, could accept such bold alterations as *for* for *or* (Induction, l. 5); *hogs* for *dogs* (Act I, scene i, l. 68); *I'll* for *weele* (Act I, scene iii, l. 21); *most precious* for *the pretious* (Act II, scene ii, l. 26); *when* for *where* (Act II, scene ii, l. 86); *ill* for *all* (Act II, scene iii, l. 24); *sainted* for *maymed* (Act III, scene i, l. 80); *speed* for *speake* (Act V, scene i, l. 128); and *mangy* for *manger* (Act V, scene i, l. 141).

[65] They collated Q1 (C^2), the copy containing the uncorrected formes.

[66] My collation sheets show that Warnke-Proescholdt gave authentic readings for no less than one hundred and forty-four errors which had been introduced in the preceding editions.

heretofore printed as verse,[67] and as verse many heretofore printed as prose.[68] In my opinion they likewise corrected many verse-endings, for examples, Induction, lines 7-8; Act II, scene ii, lines 48-50; Act IV, scene i, line 47; and Act V, scene i, lines 13-18, 72-74, and 107-108. Finally, I accept their emendations, *Ierningham* for *Harry Clare* (Act I, scene ii, l. 50), *bid* for *bind* (Act III, scene i, l. 59), and *bauke* for *banke* (Act V, scene i, l. 130).[69]

Any trustworthy evaluation of their edition, however, must also include errors detected in their work. The statement that "the text of the play has been printed in the orthography exhibited by A (1608 Quarto)" except for the "two or three words where for distinctness' sake we have altered the original spelling"[70] is not verified by my collation sheets. As a matter of fact, I find as many as one hundred and fifty variations in spelling and capitalization between their edition and Q1(F). An error of a different type appears in their Introduction, where they speak twice of a character named Arthur Jerningham; this mistake, of course, results from a confusion of the two names: Sir Arthur Clare and Sir Ralph Jerningham. Moreover, I cannot accept such conjectural emendations as *I vanish* for *vanish* (Act I, scene i, l. 36); *Neither* for *There* (Act I, scene iii, l. 106); *by Harry* for *by Fabell* (Act III, scene ii, l. 85); and *intended* for *unbanded* (Act V, scene i, l. 78).

In 1889 A. F. Hopkinson edited the comedy;[71] in 1891 he issued a reprint;[72] and in 1914 he re-edited it.[73] For his first edition and its reprint there is not a tittle of evidence that Hopkinson consulted the edition of Warnke-Proescholdt which appeared in 1884; thus, in general, he continued the errors present

[67] See Act I, scene i, lines 8-9; Act III, scene i, lines 15-16; Act IV, scene ii, lines 57-58; and Act V, scene i, lines 118-119, 128-132, and 161-162.

[68] See Act III, scene ii, lines 140-147 and 160-161; Act IV, scene i, lines 90-101, 104-105, and 166-177; and Act V, scene i, lines 97-101.

[69] See discussion of this line in the textual notes.

[70] See Introduction to their edition, p. xvii.

[71] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* edited with an Introduction (London, M. E. Sims & Co.).

[72] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* with an Introductory Essay (London, M. E. Sims & Co.).

[73] For an account of the 1914 edition see below, pp. 59-60.

in the editions of Collier (1825),[74] Tyrrell (1851), and Hazlitt (1875). Since he follows Hazlitt only when Hazlitt agrees with Tyrrell and Collier, and since he accepts none of Hazlitt's many emendations, the copy-text was not Hazlitt's edition. Of the two remaining editions, Tyrrell's and not Collier's served as copy for Hopkinson, for only Tyrrell and Hopkinson read *Exeunt Host and Bilbo* (Act I, scene ii, l. 31); *Re-enter* (Act II, scene iii, S. D.); *speech* (Act III, scene i, l. 77); *lippit* (Act III, scene ii, l. 138); *Harry Clare* (Act IV, scene i, S. D. after l. 31); and *Sir John* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 57). In no instance does Hopkinson follow Collier when Tyrrell is in disagreement. Although appearing in 1891, seven years after the valuable edition of Warnke-Proescholdt, Hopkinson's first edition can be of little value to the textual critic. Its kinship to the Collier-Tyrrell-Hazlitt editions and its own errors[75] deprive it of any value it otherwise might have had.

The next edition, that of Hugh Walker (1897),[76] has little to recommend it. Although Walker founded his text upon that of Warnke-Proescholdt's edition, he modernized the spelling and in some cases[77] departed from their readings. There is no evi-

[74] That Hopkinson's 1891 copy-text was not earlier than Collier's edition can be shown conclusively: in the first place, his text contains no variant reading found in any edition earlier than Collier's, other than those which also appear in Collier's; in the second place, no fewer than nineteen of Hopkinson's variants originated with Collier. Only Collier, Tyrrell, and Hazlitt print *faith* for *saith* (Act I, scene i, l. 28); *in the mean* for *in meane* (Act I, scene iii, l. 74); *lie* for *lies* (Act III, scene ii, l. 170); *England* for *Enfeild* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 8); and *it's* for *tis* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 71). For each of these variants Hopkinson follows the reading first introduced by Collier. Additional illustrations could be cited.

[75] No fewer than twenty-two errors appear for the first time in Hopkinson's edition. They also appear here for the last time, since no later editor has seen fit to follow Hopkinson. These errors are listed among my textual notes and may be found under Act I, scene i, lines 22-23, 61, and 104; scene ii, lines 23 and 28; scene iii, lines 49-56, 85, and 94; Act II, scene i, line 2; scene iii, line 65; Act III, scene ii, lines 32, 52, 92, and 98; Act IV, scene i, lines 24 and 104; scene ii, line 44; and Act V, scene i, lines 25, 56, 136, 140, and 144. Hopkinson divided the play into three acts.

[76] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton. A Comedy.* Edited with a Preface, Notes and Glossary (London, 1897).

[77] Although I accept his *shalt* for *should'st* (Act II, scene ii, l. 35), I cannot accept his *heart* for *z'hart* (Act II, scene i, l. 5), *you* for *thou* (Act III, scene i,

dence that Walker consulted any edition earlier than that issued by Warnke-Proescholdt.

In 1904 John M. Manly edited *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* for Charles Mills Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*,[78] which appeared in 1913. Manly considered the text of Warnke-Proescholdt so good and the collation so complete that he thought it unnecessary to re-examine the originals.[79] His reliance upon their readings caused him to perpetuate many of their errors, even though he does not always agree with them in establishing his text. His emended stage directions[80] are an improvement over those found in Warnke-Proescholdt. Likewise, he seems correct in giving line 170 of Act III, scene ii, to Raymond and in altering the attribution of speeches in Act V, scene i, lines 19, 22, 27, and 31. Some of Manly's readings, however, I am unable to accept. For instance, *there power* for *their power* (Act I, scene iii, l. 106), *Out!* for *on't* (Act II, scene i, l. 6), *you not* for *not you* (Act V, scene i, l. 87), and *I not* for *not I* (Act V, scene i, l. 98) are obviously erroneous. Moreover, I can see no reason why Raymond's speeches (Act II, scene iii, ll. 44 and 52) should be given to Harry; nor do I find it necessary to give Sir Ralph's to Sir Arthur (Act V, scene i, ll. 1 and 7) and Sir Arthur's to Sir Ralph (Act V, scene i, l. 3).[81] I do not believe Milliscent, Frank, and Harry leave the stage in Act IV, scene i, line 55, or that Milliscent enters later at line 86; thus Manly's *exeunt* and *exit* are unnecessary.[82] The omission of *Exit* (Act IV, scene i, l. 81) is probably an oversight. Even with these

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l. 48), *scarcely* for *scarce* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 38), and *will go to* for *will to* (Act V, scene i, l. 273). Nor can I agree with his text in the omission of *such* (Act III, scene ii, l. 64), *are* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 26), and lines 157-160 of Act V, scene i. Finally, he prints as prose Act III, scene i, lines 113-115, and Act III, scene ii, lines 142-147; these lines I print as verse.

[78] II, 503-576. [79] *Ibid.*, II, 517.

[80] Act II, scene ii, line 68; scene iii, line 37; and Act V, scene i, lines 173 and 179.

[81] For a discussion of these speeches, see my explanatory notes, pp. 197, 210-212.

[82] Gayley's conjectural *Tennents* for *Ienerts* (Act V, scene i, l. 130) is discussed below, pp. 217-219.

errors, however, Manly's text must be considered as an improvement over that of any previous editor.

Four years after Manly prepared his edition, or in 1908, C. F. Tucker Brooke included *The Merry Devil* in his *Shakespeare Apocrypha*.[83] As a result of indefatigable labor and painstaking care[84] Brooke issued by far the most dependable edition of *The Merry Devil* that has yet appeared. Every subsequent edition will reveal its indebtedness to him. His text is excellent except that, being unable to collate Q2, he accepted the Q2 collations of Warnke-Proescholdt. These collations led him into some of the minor errors found in his textual variants.[85] I do not accept his prose for verse in lines 22-23 of Act II, scene i, nor do I think *Exit* should be omitted (Act IV, scene i, l. 81); but I do consider as necessary emendations his *him* for *her* (Act I, scene iii, l. 53), *They'll* for *Shalt* (Act II, scene ii, l. 95), and *Hal* for *Harry* (Act III, scene ii, l. 151). Although his conjectural line (Act III, scene ii, l. 84) has no authority, I accept it because some such line is necessary.

A. F. Hopkinson's edition of 1914 shows a marked improvement over that issued by him in 1889 and reprinted by him in 1891.[86] In establishing the text of his 1914 edition he has profited from the labors of his immediate predecessors, Warnke-Proescholdt, Walker, and Tucker Brooke. In my judgment, however, his text, because of its many errors,[87] must be considered inferior

[83] Pp. 263-284.

[84] Except for Q2 he collated the early editions twice and revised the proof sheets by the original quartos.

[85] Note, for instance, that Q2 reads *his* and not *him* (Act I, scene i, l. 69); in Q2 *Titere . . . fagi* (Act I, scene ii, ll. 14-15) is given to Bilbo; Q2 reads *Now* and not *No* (Act II, scene iii, l. 65); Q2 as well as Q1 reads *Mountchensey* instead of *Mountchenseys* (Act III, scene ii, l. 155); and *a* is not omitted Q2 (Act IV, scene ii, l. 9).

[86] For a discussion of these texts, see above, pp. 56-57.

[87] His textual omissions include *most* (Act I, scene i, l. 85); *thus* (Act III, scene i, l. 98); *all* (l. 89), *yet* (l. 108), *will* (l. 157), and *a* (l. 164) of Act III, scene ii; *not* (Act IV, scene i, l. 22); *him* (Act IV, scene ii, l. 47); and *that* (l. 53) and *of* (l. 149) of Act V, scene i.

to theirs. Moreover, I find no authority for the readings *men* for *man* (Induction, l. 51), *that* for *this* (Act I, scene i, l. 49), *free a spirit* for *free spirit* (Act I, scene iii, l. 110), *not ne'er a* for *not a narrow* (Act II, scene i, l. 41), and for others cited in my textual notes.[88] I do accept Hopkinson's emendation of *Ienerts* to *jennets* (Act V, scene i, l. 130).

The Merry Devil of Edmonton appeared next in E. H. C. Oliphant's *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (1929)[89] and was reprinted two years later in his *Elizabethan Dramatists Other than Shakespeare*.[90] There is no evidence that Oliphant consulted any of the early editions. He modernizes the spelling in the text, the stage directions, and the stage technique lest he "defeat the aim which the editor has kept steadily in view—that of providing ordinary students with a text which will not be an unnecessary irritation to them."[91] I cannot agree with him that lines 47-49 of Act III, scene i, should be verse, or that lines 142-147 of Act III, scene ii, should be prose. His allusion to Banks as having fallen out of a tree is undoubtedly an oversight; it was Smug who had this unhappy experience. I do agree with him, however, in accepting Mr. William Wells's emendation: *Before I'd wrong the chaste and virgin love* for *Before I would wrong the chase and ouergiue loue* (Act I, scene iii, l. 98). But Oliphant's edition can be of little value to the modern textual critic.

The latest edition of *The Merry Devil* is that of A. K. McIlwraith in 1934.[92] Both the text and punctuation are modernized, and some emendations have been made in silence. McIlwraith bases his text on Tucker Brooke's standard critical edition of the play in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*. He does not take the unwarranted liberty—as Oliphant does—of expanding the stage directions; on the other hand, he does not always keep the read-

[88] See Act II, scene ii, lines 26, 39, and 91-97; scene iii, lines 35 and 52; Act III, scene i, line 104; scene ii, lines 115 and 121; Act IV, scene i, line 9; and Act V, scene i, lines 18 and 100.

[89] I, 607-637.

[90] Pp. 419-449.

[91] *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists*, p. xiii.

[92] *Five Elizabethan Comedies*, pp. 253-308.

ing of his basic text. I think that lines 41-42 of Act I, scene i, and lines 113-114 of Act III, scene i, should be printed as verse. Brooke is in agreement; McIlwraith is not. Surely, however, both Brooke and McIlwraith are in error when they omit *Exit* (Act IV, scene i, l. 81). In the early editions the last line of the play is attributed to *Cla.* McIlwraith is correct, I believe, in attributing it to *Sir Arthur* rather than to *Harry.* Finally, since he followed Brooke's text quite faithfully, his own is the better for having done so.

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The present edition is an eclectic text of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.* It is not a reprint of any quarto, although it is based on the 1608 edition in the Folger Shakespeare Library. I have collated the four extant copies of this first quarto, using photostats of the copy in the White Collection at Harvard and of the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library; for the Trinity College (Cambridge) copy I have employed the Students' Facsimile Edition. For the 1612 quarto I have used photostats of the Huntington copy, and for the editions of 1617, 1626, 1631, and 1655, I have used copies in the Folger Library. Finally, I have collated carefully every later edition of the play.

All variants not purely orthographic, as well as later emendations and conjectures which seem useful, are recorded in my textual notes. The only silent alterations are the surrender of the long *s* and the use of modern punctuation where the sense would otherwise be unintelligible to the average reader. I have made a few emendations, but in every instance my textual notes contain the quarto reading. Except for the few irregularities registered in my textual variants, I have retained the capitalization of the 1608 quarto. The names of characters when they are a part of the text, as well as the heading of the Prologue, appear in roman letters rather than in the italics employed by the early printers.

Stage directions appearing in brackets represent *addenda* suggested by modern editors; my own additions appear in parentheses. For the sake of consistency I have moved to the center of the page a few stage directions which in the quarto appear

in the margin, and in these stage directions I have used roman letters for the names of characters.

It has seemed to me advisable to correct the inconsistent spelling of the quarto speech-tags;[93] hence Raymond Mountchensey is always called *Ray.*, Lady Dorcas Clare is always called *L. Cla.*, Sir Arthur Clare is always called *Sir Ar.*, etc. All speech-tags omitted in the first quarto appear in brackets. In every case but one[94] I have accepted the act and scene divisions, together with the *locus* of each, which Warnke-Proescholdt established. These additions appear in the text inclosed in brackets. Warnke-Proescholdt are also responsible for describing the Coreb-Fabell scene as the Induction. Dodsley was the first editor to supply the dramatis personae. The numeration of lines is my own.

AUTHORSHIP

The references to the works included in Pearson Reprints (1873) are to volume and page; there are three exceptions: the references to the two parts of *The Honest Whore* and to *The Witch of Edmonton* are to act, scene, and page as given in the volume of Dekker's plays, Mermaid Series, edited by Ernest Rhys. *Patient Grissill* is reprinted in Volume V of A. B. Grosart's edition of Dekker's *Non-Dramatic Works* (1884), and the references are to line numbers. References to *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* are to page numbers in Volume IV of William Hazlitt's edition of *The Dramatic Works of John Webster*. References to *The Noble Soldier* and to *Wily Beguild* are to the signatures as reprinted in the Tudor Facsimile Texts; and finally, the references to *The Welsh Embassador* are to page and line in the Malone Society Text.

The majority of the nondramatic pieces are found in the five volumes edited by A. B. Grosart; references to these selections are to volume and page. There are these exceptions: *A Knight's*

[93] As examples: in the quarto Raymond is called *Moun.*, *Mount.*, and *Ray.* Lady Dorcas Clare is called *La. Cla.*, *Lad.*, and *Dor.*

[94] I have not divided Act V into two scenes, being unable to find a stage situation justifying such a division. Warnke-Proescholdt begin scene ii with the entrance of Blague, Act V, scene i, line 127, of this edition. At this point, however, the stage is occupied and the action is continuous.

Conjuring is reprinted by E. F. Rimbault for the Percy Society Publications, Volume V, and the references are to page number. The references to *Penny-wise, Pound-foolish,* reprinted by W. Bang in his edition of Ford's *Works* (*Materialien,* 1908) are also to page number, as are those to *News from Graves-End, The Meeting of Gallants, London Look Back,* and *The Black Rod,* printed in F. P. Wilson's *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker* (Oxford, 1925).

For convenience the following abbreviations are used:

Bach. Ban.	*Bachelor's Banquet*	(Gros., I, 149-275)
Belman	*Belman of London*	(Gros., III, 61-170)
Black R.	*Black Rod*	(Wilson, 1925)
Brit. Hon.	*Brittania's Honor*	(Pear., IV, 129-216)
Can. Cal.	*Canaan's Calamity*	(Gros., I, 3-70)
Dead T.	*Dead Term*	(Gros., IV, 1-84)
Double	*Double PP*	(Gros., II, 155-192)
Dream	*Dekker His Dream*	(Gros., III, 1-60)
Four Birds	*Four Birds of Noah's Ark*	(Gros., V, 1-108)
Guls H. B.	*Gull's Horn-book*	(Gros., II, 193-266)
Hon. Wh. I	*Honest Whore, Part One*	(Rhys, 89-190)
Hon. Wh. II	*Honest Whore, Part Two*	(Rhys, 191-286)
If This	*If This Be Not a Good Play*	(Pear., III, 259-360)
Jests	*Jests to Make You Merry*	(Gros., II, 267-359)
Kn. Conj.	*A Knight's Conjuring*	(Percy Soc., V)
Lant. Cand.	*Lanthorn and Candle-Light*	(Gros., III, 171-304)
Lond. L. B.	*London Look Back*	(Wilson, 1925)
Lond. Tempe	*London's Tempe*	(Pear., IV, 113-128)
Lond. Tri.	*London Triumphing*	(Pear., III, 235-258)
Mag. Ent.	*Magnificent Entertainment*	(Pear., I, 267-326)
Match Me	*Match Mee in London*	(Pear., IV, 129-216)
Meeting of G.	*Meeting of Gallants*	(Wilson, 1925)
News from G.	*News from Graves-End*	(Wilson, 1925)
News from H.	*News from Hell*	(Gros. II, 83-154)
Noble S.	*Noble Soldier*	(Tud. Fac. Text)
N. Hoe	*Northward-Hoe*	(Pear., III, 1-80)
Old F.	*Old Fortunatus*	(Pear., I, 81-175)
Pat. Gris.	*Patient Grissill*	(Gros., V, 109-232)
Penny-wise	*Penny-wise, Pound-foolish*	(Bang, 1908)
Rav. Al.	*Raven's Almanack*	(Gros., IV, 167-266)

R. Girl	*Roaring Girle*	(Pear., III, 131-234)
Rod for R.	*Rod for Run-aways*	(Gros., IV, 267-310)
Satiro.	*Satiromastix*	(Pear., I, 177-266)
Seven D. S.	*Seven Deadly Sins*	(Gros., II, 1-82)
Shoe. Hol.	*Shoemakers' Holiday*	(Pear., I, 1-79)
Sir T. W.	*Sir Thomas Wyatt*	(Pear., III, 81-130)
Str. H-R.	*Strange Horse-Race*	(Gros., III, 305-378)
Sun's D.	*Sun's Darling*	(Pear., IV, 287-344)
Virg. Mar.	*Virgin Martyr*	(Pear., IV, 1-91)
Weakest G.	*Weakest Goeth to the Wall*	(Haz., IV, 213-305)
Welsh Emb.	*Welsh Embassador*	(Mal. Soc. Text)
W. Hoe	*Westward-Hoe*	(Pear., II, 279-363)
Wh. of Bab.	*Whore of Babylon*	(Pear., II, 185-278)
Wily Beg.	*Wily Beguild*	(Tud. Fac. Text)
Witch of Ed.	*Witch of Edmonton*	(Rhys, 387-474)
Wond. of K.	*Wonder of a Kingdom*	(Pear., IV, 217-286)
Wond. Year	*Wonderful Year*	(Gros., I, 71-148)
Work for A.	*Work for Armorers*	(Gros., IV, 85-166)

The editor who attempts to establish the authorship of an anonymous Elizabethan play should always consider the possibility that it is the product of collaboration. It is conceivable, therefore, that *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* is the result of two or even several hands. Manly supposes it to have been the work of "one or more of the many playwrights who . . . were engaged in furnishing amusement to the public."[1] Oliphant, on the other hand, sees evidence of single authorship: "If, as there is reason to suppose, it was, in an early form, produced about 1590, it must have been thoroughly rewritten, for the style shows but a single stratum.[2] There is no indication that more than a single writer was concerned in it."[3] In an unpublished dissertation, "The Canon of Thomas Heywood's Dramatic Writing,"[4] Alfred Crofts agrees with Oliphant, adding: "Blague is always himself; whoever began him must have finished him. . . . The compactness of the play, its economy of means, and the unity of

[1] *Op. cit., Critical Essay,* p. 154.

[2] A stratum which seems to point to 1600 rather than to 1590.

[3] *Elizabethan Dramatists,* p. 423. See also by same author "Problems of Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature," *M. P.,* VIII (1911), 422.

[4] Stanford University, 1935-36.

its design testify to single authorship."[5] My study of the play confirms this opinion. The similarity of style, the repetition of phraseology and imagery, and the unity in conception of character throughout point to a single hand. At the beginning the two plots are linked by the Host; the action in the nocturnal scene, in which the four separate groups take part, is clearly the work of one playwright. Equally convincing evidence is found in the closing scene, in which we learn that the priest, one of the characters of the subplot, performed the marriage ceremony for the wedding of Raymond and Milliscent, the leading characters of the main plot; and that Smug, another of the low characters, succeeded in decoying the two knights to the White-Horse Inn while that wedding was taking place. Such skillful interweaving of the two plots, added to the many other smaller, but none the less significant, pieces of evidence, clearly shows that *The Merry Devil,* at least in its present form, is the work of one dramatist. Below I discuss the several dramatists to whom the play has been attributed.

William Shakespeare

The Merry Devil of Edmonton was entered on the Stationers' Register, October 22, 1607, for Arthur Johnson, but no author's name was given; nor do the title pages of the earliest quartos name the author.[6] On September 9, 1653, however, Humphrey Moseley, the bookseller, entered the play at Stationers' Hall as by William Shakespeare.[7] Halliwell-Phillipps was not inclined to accept the attribution because the same entry which included *The Merry Devil* included also "palpable misrepresentations respecting the authorship of other compositions."[8] Greg called attention[9] to Moseley's unreliability and dishonesty by showing that in order to save fees he apparently entered the titles of two plays as alternate titles for a single play. Adams likewise points

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 363.

[6] See title page opposite Dramatis Personae.

[7] Eyre and Rivington, *op. cit.,* I, 429.

[8] *Outlines* (2d ed.), p. 196. In this same entry Moseley made the following attributions to Shakespeare: *"The History of Cardenio* by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare; *Henry the first, & Hen: the 2d,* by Shakespeare and Davenport."

[9] "The Bakings of Betsy," *The Library,* 3d ser., II (1911), 225-259.

out that "little dependence can be placed on Moseley's assertions, and that he had a tendency to associate every drama acted by the Globe Company with Shakespeare's name."[10] But Moseley's ascription of the play to Shakespeare does not stand alone. A bookbinder labeled as "Shakespeare, Vol. I," a volume in the library of King Charles II containing the three plays *Mucedorus, The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* and *Fair Em,*[11] pointing to a tradition that these plays were Shakespeare's. Edward Archer also attributed the play to Shakespeare in his catalogue of 1656,[12] as did Francis Kirkman, bookseller and publisher, in his catalogues of 1661[13] and 1671.[14] It was Kirkman, moreover, who issued in 1662 the hitherto unprinted *Birth of Merlin,* carrying on its title page the inscription: "Written by William Shakespeare and William Rowley," though this play cannot safely be dated earlier than 1622.[15] The compilers of *Biographia Dramatica* rejected Kirkman's attribution of *The Merry Devil* to Shakespeare, adding "There do not appear in the piece itself any marks that tend to the confirmation of such a suggestion."[16] It seems justifiable to discard all the external evidence that assigns the play to Shakespeare.

The first critic to give the play to Shakespeare on internal evidence was Ludwig Tieck;[17] and he did so without conviction, for he first denied Shakespeare's authorship, later attributed the play to Shakespeare, and finally ascribed it to Middleton and Shakespeare.[18] Tieck thought that *The Merry Devil* was similar

[10] *Life of Shakespeare,* p. 434.

[11] The volume came later into Garrick's collection, now broken up, in the British Museum (Warnke-Proescholdt, *op. cit.,* Introduction, p. xii). Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines,* p. 194) is certainly in error: "The volume is described as containing Shakespeare's *Puritan Widow, Sir John Oldcastle, Cromwell's Life, Devell of Edmonton, London Prodigall, Mucedorus, Miller's Daughter, Love Labour Lost.*"

[12] See W. W. Greg, *List of Masques, Pageants, Etc.,* p. lxxxix.

[13] *A True, perfect, and exact Catalogue of all the Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques and Interludes, that were ever yet printed and published, till this present year 1661,* p. 10.

[14] This is merely a reprint of the 1661 catalogue with additions.

[15] Sidney Lee, *Life of Shakespeare,* p. 265.

[16] D. E. Baker, I. Reed, and S. Jones, *op. cit.,* III, 37.

[17] *Alt-englisches Theater,* II, 7-9.

[18] H. W. Hewett-Thayer, "Tieck and the Elizabethan Drama: His Marginalia," *J. E. G. P.,* XXXIV (1935), 386-387.

to *The Merry Wives,* that some of its characters, especially Host Blague, resembled Shakespearean personages, and that its forest scene had the stamp of Shakespeare's genius. Koeppel,[19] Schlegel,[20] Lüdeke,[21] and Von Friesen,[22] Tieck's friend and literary biographer, were inclined to regard the similarities pointed out by Tieck as evidence of Shakespeare's authorship. Von Friesen admits, however, that the lack of symmetry and skillful arrangement is not in keeping with Shakespeare's manner, and therefore regards the play as one of Shakespeare's youthful productions. In this opinion Moriz Rapp[23] and Bodenstedt[24] do not concur; as a matter of fact, Rapp dates the play from 1603, and Bodenstedt points out that what speaks most strongly against the supposition that the youthful Shakespeare wrote the play is the absence of all youthful freshness and originality. Ulrici[25] likewise is unable to support the theory of his countrymen, as are Warnke-Proescholdt,[26] who conclude: "Every reader, we feel sure, will subscribe to Ulrici's opinion, and hardly any critic will now-a-days venture to claim the play for England's greatest poet."[27] And yet Hopkinson later made just such a claim, declaring that "in spite of the unreliable nature of the external and internal evidence, I cannot avoid the conclusion that this little play is the work of Shakespeare."[28] No other critic, so far as I know, has supported a Shakespearean authorship. Both Brooke[29] and Crofts[30] call attention to the significant exclusion

[19] "Studien über Shakespeares Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker," *Materialien,* IX (1905), 91-92.

[20] *Dramatic Art and Literature,* p. 258.

[21] *Ludwig Tieck und die Brüder Schlegel,* p. 39.

[22] "Flüchtige Bemerkungen über einige Stücke, welche Shakespeare zugeschrieben werden," *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch,* I (1865), 160-165.

[23] *Studien über das englische Theater,* p. 11.

[24] In a note appended to Von Friesen's article, p. 165.

[25] *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art,* tr. by L. Dora Schmitz (1876), II, 370: "The action, it is true, is developed with great ease and a graceful movement, the scenes are well arranged and run smoothly into one another, but there is no trace of that living, internal unity and harmony such as we have in Shakespeare's works."

[26] *Op. cit.,* Introduction, p. xiii. [27] *Loc. cit.*

[28] *Op. cit.* (1914), Introduction, p. xxxvi. In Hopkinson's first edition of *The Merry Devil* (1891) he argued that Tony Brewer was its author, mistaking, of course, the entry of the prose pamphlet for a re-entry of the drama.

[29] *Op. cit.,* Introduction, p. xxxvii. [30] *Op. cit.,* p. 350.

of *The Merry Devil* from the First Folio, since Heminges and Condell, had it been Shakespeare's, would most likely have included it.[31] Charles Knight, while admitting that there is an obvious similarity between Host Blague of *The Merry Devil* and the jovial host of *The Merry Wives,* attributes such resemblance to imitation and plagiarism. "Shakespeare," he concludes, "in the abundance of his riches, is not a poet who repeats himself."[32] Perhaps the case is best stated by Sir Sidney Lee: "*The Merry Devil* is a delightful comedy, abounding in both humour and romantic sentiment. But superior as it is at all points to any other of Shakespeare's falsely reputed plays, it gives no sign of Shakespeare's workmanship."[33]

Anthony (Tony) Brewer

In the Stationers' Register,[34] under April 5, 1608, appears this entry:

> Joseph Hunt / Thomas Archer — Entred for their copie. Vnder the hand of master Seton Warden a booke called *the lyfe and deathe of the merry Devill of Edmonton with the pleasant prankes of* SMUGGE *the Smythe. Sir* JOHN. *and myne Hoste of the 'George' about their stealynge of Ven[i]son.* by T. B. - - - - - - - - vjd

On the strength of this entry the editors of *The Biographia Dramatica,*[35] and, following them, Halliwell-Phillipps[36] and Ulrici[37] assume that Tony Brewer was the author of the play. Hopkinson, too, misled by this evidence, advocates Brewer's claim in the Introduction to his first edition of *The Merry Devil* in 1891. Since, however, the entry undoubtedly refers to the prose pamphlet,[38] the ascription is founded on an evident error and is no longer tenable.

[31] An entry in Cunningham's *Revels Accounts,* p. xlv, shows that John Heminges received payment on a warrant dated May 15, 1618, for a court presentation of the play. Thus only two years after Shakespeare's death and only five years before the publication of the First Folio, Heminges had *The Merry Devil* called conspicuously to his attention.

[32] *Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare,* p. 316.

[33] *Life of William Shakespeare,* p. 264.

[34] Arber, III, 374.

[35] III, 37.

[36] *Dictionary of Old Plays,* p. 169.

[37] *Op. cit.,* p. 369.

[38] See Appendix I, pp. 225-264.

Michael Drayton

Drayton's claim to the authorship of *The Merry Devil* seems to have been first advanced by Thomas Coxeter, an antiquarian of the eighteenth century, who observes that he has seen an old MS copy of the play inscribed "by Michael Drayton."[39] William Oldys also declares he has heard it said that Drayton wrote the play,[40] and Fleay, accepting the tradition, argues at length for Drayton.[41] His argument, in summary, is as follows: first, Drayton, driven by necessity,[42] was forced to write plays for the public stage (for Henslowe, 1597-1603), an occupation which was to him unpalatable; secondly, there is evidence which points to a connection between the Chamberlain's Company and Drayton subsequent to his engagement with Henslowe,[43] and thirdly, the similarities between the Host in his *Sir John Falstaff* and Blague in *The Merry Devil* are sufficient to cause any reader to come to the conclusion that these characters were the product of one brain. As to the similarity between the hosts in the two plays, it should be noted, first, that Drayton was only one of four authors responsible for *Sir John Falstaff,*[44] and there is no reason to believe that he is responsible for the character of the host;[45]

[39] See Baker, Reed, and Jones, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[40] Cf. Reed's note in Dodsley's *Old Plays* (2d ed., 1780), V, 247.

[41] *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama,* I, 150 ff., and II, 353; also *Life of Shakespeare,* p. 294.

[42] For a convincing refutation of Fleay's contention that Drayton was in need of money at this period, see L. Whitaker, *Michael Drayton as a Dramatist,* pp. 405 ff.

[43] But what can be the relevance of any connection between Drayton and the Chamberlain's Company after 1603 and the authorship of *The Merry Devil,* since Fleay himself dates the play about 1597? He states quite positively: "Drayton no doubt did write for the Chamberlain's men about 1597. The commencement of his dramatic career was *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* acted by that company" (*Biog. Chron.,* II, 353); and in his *Life of Shakespeare,* p. 31: "Another play acted by Shakespeare's company this year (1597) was Drayton's *Merry Devil of Edmonton.*" Fleay records a performance of the play at the Curtain in 1597 (*Chron. Hist. of Lond. Stage,* p. 154), but he cites no authority. My efforts to discover evidence of this presentation at the Curtain have been in vain.

[44] Anthony Munday, Richard Hathaway, and Robert Wilson were the other collaborators.

[45] Greg, *Henslowe's Diary,* II, 206.

and, secondly, that, since this is the only extant play in which Drayton is supposed to have had a hand, any conclusions as to his style of characterization reached through internal evidence alone must necessarily be considered unwarranted. Elton describes Fleay's theory as an "unfounded assumption" and points out that comedy was probably not Drayton's gift.[46] Charles Lamb would have been glad if Fleay's theory could have been authenticated, but he recognizes that evidence of a convincing nature is lacking.[47] Whitaker is perhaps correct in his conclusion that "there is nothing to justify the theories that associate Drayton's name with the Fleay group of plays."[48] Oliphant writes: "As to *The Merry Devil,* Drayton's authorship is by no means improbable";[49] and he, alone of all recent students of Elizabethan drama, is inclined to accept Fleay's conjecture. "This conjecture," Fleay had written, "is confirmed by the tradition that he [Drayton] was the author of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.*"[50] Yet it may be questioned whether a "conjecture" can be confirmed by a "tradition."

Thomas Heywood

As Professor Tucker Brooke notes, "Heywood, with his hand or 'main finger' in two hundred and twenty plots, is *a priori* a likely candidate for the authorship of any dubious play of the time,"[51] and his claim to *The Merry Devil* was advocated by Hazlitt as early as 1820:[52] "It is more likely . . . both from style and subject-matter, to have been Heywood's than any other person's. Romantic, sweet, tender, it expresses the feelings of honour, of love, and friendship in their utmost delicacy, enthusiasm and purity."[53] Nineteen years later, Ulrici[54] declares that he sees

[46] *Michael Drayton: A Critical Study,* p. 93; see also, Elton, *An Introduction to Michael Drayton,* p. 27, n. 3.

[47] *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets,* I, 49.

[48] *Op. cit.,* p. 409.

[49] "Elizabethan Problems of Authorship," *M. P.,* VIII (1911), 422.

[50] *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama,* I, 151.

[51] Review of Rupert Brooke's *John Webster and Elizabethan Drama, M. L. N.,* XXXII (1917), 429.

[52] *Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth,* p. 222.

[53] *Loc. cit.*

[54] *Op. cit.,* p. 369.

Heywood's style in the comedy. He bases his conviction, in part, however, on two pieces[55] of external evidence, neither of which is trustworthy. Katherine Lee Bates discovers in the play "touches of the Heywood vocabulary . . . as well as the Heywood flavour."[56] Professor Adams agrees that Miss Bates's observation accords with his examination of the comedy, but adds that Heywood "cannot be thought of as the chief author of *The Merry Devil;* the unmistakable hand of Thomas Dekker is to be found in most of the scenes."[57] Cromwell feels certain that the play is not Heywood's,[58] and Clark, a recent investigator, is doubtful that Heywood had any part in the play: "But this delightful comedy of the King's Men . . . is far too spontaneous in its fun, too lyrical in its poetry, altogether too airy and fanciful to have been written by the sober and rather stolid Heywood; nothing else of his bears any likeness to this exquisite thing."[59] Crofts[60] also rejects Heywood's authorship of *The Merry Devil,* with the following argument:

(1) Sir Richard Mountchensey's plight receives not a sympathetic phrase, whereas Heywood never loses opportunity to moralize upon the fate of a good man who has lost his estate by foolish generosity.

(2) The dramatic structure is too unified and the steps in plot development too swift and too tersely narrated to be Heywood's.

[55] (1) Ulrici assumed that the initials "T. B." affixed to the entry of the prose tract were an error for "T. H." and that the entry referred to the play. The same mistake appears in A. W. Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature,* I, 463. (2) He also assumed that the mention of *The Merry Devil* and of Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* in the same line of *The Black Book* should be interpreted as meaning that Heywood was the author of both plays.

[56] Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and *The Fair Maid of the West,* ed. Katherine Lee Bates, p. xiii.

[57] Review of Miss Bates's edition of *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and *The Fair Maid of the West, M. P.,* XVI (1918), 274.

[58] *Thomas Heywood,* pp. 176-177: "From the midnight sports of Host Blague and his associates to Middleton's figures [in *A Chaste Maid of Cheapside*] is a far cry. Equally removed is Heywood from both. With him the social conditions surrounding the characters make the issue, but the issue is such a serious one that the background is neither harmless amusement nor detached pictures of folly."

[59] *Thomas Heywood, Playwright and Miscellanist,* p. 332.

[60] *Op. cit.,* pp. 350-363.

(3) The utter lack of piety and "Christianism" speaks not for Heywood.
(4) The Heywood word-echoes, though there be some, are no more prevalent than can be accounted for by coincidence.
(5) The heroine, Milliscent, submissive and wistful, is not a Heywood heroine, who is usually portrayed as shrewd and resolute.
(6) The colorless phrases common in Heywood are not present in *The Merry Devil.*
(7) Whereas Heywood usually writes prose by scenes, all speakers using it, in *The Merry Devil* prose is assigned to certain characters who use it all the time.[61]

Thomas Dekker

If Thomas Heywood be denied the authorship of *The Merry Devil,* the most likely candidate left in the field is Thomas Dekker, "in all English literature perhaps Heywood's nearest parallel."[62] The suggestion that Dekker may have had a hand in the composition of the play was made by Liebermann[63] in 1901, by Manly[64] in 1904, and by Koeppel[65] in 1905. None of the editors since Manly has included Dekker in the list of authors to whom the play has been attributed. Confirmation of his probable authorship has been received, however, from two modern scholars: Professors Joseph Q. Adams[66] and A. M. Clark.[67] No one, so

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Clark, *op. cit.,* p. 251.

[63] "Kleine Mitteilungen," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen,* CVII (1901), 110: "Den ins einzelne gehenden Beweis dafür, dass dieses Stück [*The Merry Devil*], zum Teil wenigstens, von Dekker geschrieben resp. bedeutend überarbeitet wurde, hoffe ich später zu erbringen."

[64] *Op. cit., Critical Essay,* p. 513: "It is true that the style is not entirely unlike that of Dekker. . . ."

[65] "Studien über Shakespeares Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker." *Materialien,* IX (1905), 92: "Doch ist die Sh. Färbung der Diction des Stückes [*The Merry Devil*] keine auffällige, man denkt beim Lesen viel häufiger an die gewandte, zumeist aber auch dünnflüssige Dichtersprache Dekkers oder Heywoods."

[66] Review of Katherine Lee Bates's edition of Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and *The Fair Maid of the West, M. P.,* XVI (1918), 374: "The unmistakable hand of Thomas Dekker is to be found in most of the scenes." In a personal letter to Professor Adams in 1914, J. M. Manly wrote: "I am inclined to agree with you that the play was written by Dekker."

[67] *Op. cit.,* p. 337: "If the author of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* and Dekker be not one and the same, we are doubtful to which of the two the Rabelaisian Dick Bowyer [see *The Trial of Chivalry*] . . . ought to be credited."

far as I know, has attempted to marshal all the available evidence. This I propose to do.

Unfortunately, there is little external evidence upon which to base conclusions. It is assumed, of course, that *The Merry Devil* was originally in the repertoire of the Chamberlain's Men, since we know it belonged in 1608 to the King's Men,[68] the name given to the Chamberlain's Company ten days after James I came to the throne. The curtailed text that has come down to us lacks a prefatory note or a dedicatory epistle.

Although we know that Dekker wrote for the Admiral's Men from 1598 to 1600, we likewise know that in the early months of 1601 the Chamberlain's Men prevailed upon him to collaborate with Marston in *Satiromastix*.[69] Furthermore, there is evidence to show that he had some sort of business relations with the Chamberlain's Men prior to 1601; for on January 30, 1599, Henslowe advanced a loan of £3 10*s*. to the Admiral's Men to "descarge Thomas dickers from the a reaste of my lord chamberlens men."[70] No one with an imagination better disciplined than Fleay's would connect this arrest by the Chamberlain's Men with the composition of *The Merry Devil;* but Dekker was not an actor, and since by this time he was a successful dramatist, this early connection may have involved some phase of Dekker's talents as a playwright. Bullen suggests that Dekker had probably received an advance from the Lord Chamberlain's Company of actors, for some play which he had failed to supply.[71]

But if substantial external evidence is entirely lacking, internal evidence is abundant, the significance of which should not be minimized. Dekkerian vocabulary, figures of speech, and images are everywhere present in this play. Moreover, the style, the characters, and the plot of the comedy strikingly resemble the style, characters, and plots found in his undoubted dramatic and nondramatic works. To such evidence, then, let us now turn our attention.

[68] The name of the King's Men appears on the title page; too, the play was given by them at Court.

[69] Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

[70] Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, I, 101.

[71] *Elizabethans*, p. 76. For evidence that an Elizabethan playwright may have sold plays to one company while drawing pay from another, see G. B. Harrison, *Shakespeare's Fellows*, p. 101.

Evidence of Dekker's Vocabulary

1. Latin words and phrases

Thomas Dekker must have had a thorough knowledge of Latin. On his title pages, throughout his pamphlets, and in his plays appear Latin phrases, verses, and stanzas. Comic characters quote at length from Latin authors in a display of erudition; allusions to Greek and Roman poets are common. The following examples are taken from *The Merry Devil of Edmonton:*

Induction, 64:
Alas, where lies your griefe? some *Aqua-vitae!*

I, i, 3:
. . . the very *Homer* and *Iliads* of a lodging.

I, ii, 14-15:
Titere tu, patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.

II, iii, 54-56:
. . . cry *vale* to Lobster pies . . . not be *in virgo* any longer.

IV, i, 2:
. . . the *zona torrida* of the forrest.

V, i, 153:
Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus.

2. Tartarian

Merry Devil, I, i, 10-11:
. . . there's not a Tartarian nor a Carrier, shall breath vpon your geldings.

Although Shakespeare never used *Tartarian,* it seems to have been a word Dekker liked to use.

Lant. Cand., III, 210:
. . . for the seruice of the *Tartarian* their Lord and Maister. . . .

Str. H-R., III, 349:
No more, cryed the *Tartarian Tarmagant.*

Work for A., IV, 144:
. . . she vowed to issue forth, and bid battaile to the beggerly *Tartarians* that beleagerd her.

Dream, III, 37:
He roar'd . . . he shooke the grownd
Of his *Tartarean* pallace.

3. Philistines, Hungarian, Castilian

Shakespeare did not use *Philistines,* although once each he used *Hungarian*[72] and *Castilian.* They are typical of Host Blague's colorful vocabulary, however, and they appear often in the works of Thomas Dekker. I cite from *The Merry Devil:*

II, i, 50:

> Ha, my Castilian dialogues!

IV, i, 63-64:

> Here Metrapolitane. The philistines are vpon vs, be silent.

II, i, 54-55:

> I haue Knights and Colonells at my house, & must tend the Hungarions.

IV, i, 1-2:

> Come, yee Hungarian pilchers, we are once more come vnder the *zona torrida* of the forrest.

Compare these passages from Dekker:

W. Hoe, II, 357:

> Captain Lynstock bestir your stumps, for the *Philestines* are vpon vs.

Jests, II, 350:

> . . . they thankt him for his paines, and in requittall promist to deale with his *Philistines.* . . .

News from H., II, 108:

> . . . the leane Iade *Hungarian* would not lay out a penny pot of sack for himself, though he had eaten stincking fresh Herring. . . .

Belman, III, 83:

> . . . the poore *Hungarian* answered, Yes, *He was.*

For additional illustrations of Dekker's use of *Hungarian,* see *Work for A.,* IV, 143; *Dream,* III, 7; *W. Hoe,* II, 350; *R. Girl,* III, 214; and *Str. H-R.,* III, 333. For Dekker's use of *Castilian,* see *Old F.,* I, 136; *Sir T. W.,* III, 115; *Lant. Cand.,* III, 188; and *Shoe. Hol.,* I, 23.

[72] F. E. Pierce declares that *Hungarian* is "one of a list of common Dekkerian expressions" (*The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker,* p. 65, n. 2).

4. in hugger-mugger

Merry Devil, I, iii, 59:

> But you will to this geere in hugger-mugger.

Shakespeare uses the phrase only once; Dekker uses it in *News from H.,* II, 108; *Satiro.,* I, 214; *N. Hoe,* III, 49; and *Str. H-R.,* III, 353.

5. plump

Merry Devil, III, ii, 57:

> Doe, my good plumpe wench.

Idem, III, ii, 124-125:

> She may be poore in spirit, but for the flesh,
> Tis fatte and plumpe. . . .

Although Shakespeare uses the word only once, Dekker uses it at least eleven times: *Satiro.,* I, 185; *Hon. Wh. I,* I, ii, 98; *Hon. Wh. II,* I, i, 196 and 212; *Match Me,* IV, 174; *W. Hoe,* II, 298; *News from H.,* II, 103; *Guls H.B.,* II, 218; *Kn. Conj.,* 9; and *Str. H-R.,* III, 341 and 358.

6. Egg of the cockatrice

Merry Devil, V, i, 190-191:

> I could fight now for all the world like a Cockatrices ege.

Many editors have emended *ege* to *eye.* Shakespeare alludes to the eye of the cockatrice three times but not once to its egg; for Dekker's preference, see the following:

Satiro., I, 202:

> . . . what will he bee fifteene weekes about this Cockatrices egge too?

Lant. Cand., III, 267:

> *Shee* is the Cockatrice that hatcheth all these egges of euills.

7. hot-shots

When Brian describes Harry and Frank as "a couple of hot-shots" (*Merry Devil,* IV, i, 111-112), he is employing an expression which does not appear in Shakespeare but which is found often in Dekker. For instance, it appears in *Old F.,* I, 114; *Sir T. W.,* III, 114; *If This,* III, 291; *News from H.,* II, 98; *Str. H-R.,* III, 368; and *News from G.,* 78.

8. villanous

Merry Devil, I, i, 12:
. . . villanous rancke feete.

Idem, I, ii, 17-18:
. . . villanous sharp stomacke.

Idem, IV, ii, 34-35:
. . . villanous vnlucky rogue.

Idem, V, i, 141-144:
The villanous world . . . villanous male London letcher?

Shakespeare uses the adjective twenty-seven times, but only once does he use it as one of two or more attributives; the author of *The Merry Devil* uses it only once as a single attributive. Dekker's usage is suggested by these passages:

W. Hoe, II, 348, and *N. Hoe,* III, 10:
Villanous spitefull luck.

Satiro., I, 211:
. . . a villanous broad backe.

R. Girl, III, 200:
. . . villanous splay feete.

News from G., 66:
. . . villanous vngodly faces.

Other examples are easily found.

Evidence of Dekker's Imagery

1. Windmills, watermills, and whirligigs in the brain

The conception of a man's brains as containing windmills, watermills, and whirligigs seems to be a Dekkerian image; at least Dekker's frequent use of such figures is pronounced. Banks's inquiry of the drunken Smug is a typical illustration:

Merry Devil, II, i, 3-4:
What, are your braines alwayes water-milles? must they euer runne round?

With this passage compare:

Witch of Ed., IV, ii, 455:
Some windmill in my brains for want of sleep.

Wond. of K., IV, 259:

> Mee Lor, be all mad, le braine crowe, and run whirabout like de windmill saile. . . .

Welsh Emb., 33, 1010-1011:

> Lett em goe lady, when the whirligiggs of theire braines haue don spininge the'ile stand still. . . .

Virg. Mar., IV, 28:

> Once more;
> Thy head is full of Wind mills.

R. Girl, III, 187:

> Right, but I haue in my braine
> A windmill going that shall grind to dust. . . .

For other examples, see *If This*, III, 297; *Belman*, III, 87; *Noble S.*, E2^{v}; *R. Girl*, III, 139; and *Sun's D.*, IV, 329.

2. Music imagery

Merry Devil, II, iii, 20:

> For in true loue Musicke doth sweetly dwell.

To Thomas Dekker the meeting of friends was music; conversation, truth—all were music.

R. Girl, III, 227:

> I finde it in the musicke of my heart.

Wh. of Bab., II, 238:

> I heard of late the musicke of my soule.

Hon. Wh. I, IV, i, 154:

> Hear me but speak, my words shall be all music.

Hon. Wh. II, II, i, 214:

> Any tongue that sounds his name
> Speaks music to me.

Work for A., IV, 101-102:

> Art thou sad? where is sweeter musicke then in reading?

Match Me, IV, 194:

> I'me glad the stinkards are so merry, a halter on 'em, it is musick to them to haue euery man thrown off. . . .

Sun's D., IV, 317:

> His companie is musick, next to yours.

I have collected twenty-nine additional illustrations from the works of Thomas Dekker.

3. Imagery of hair standing on end

Merry Devil, Induction, 3-4:

My stiffned haire stands vpright on my head
As doe the bristles of a porcupine.

Idem, IV, ii, 10-12:

O Lorde, my legges are too weake for my body, my haire is too stiffe for my night-cap. . . .

Those editors and critics who would give *The Merry Devil* to Shakespeare point out with one accord the similarity between the first passage quoted and one from *Hamlet,* I, v, 19-20:

And each particular hair to stand on end
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine.

There is a striking similarity indeed, but it is common knowledge that no one drew more heavily from the Master than did Dekker. Furthermore, the following passages illustrate that Dekker himself was fond of the idea of one's hair standing on end:

Wond. Year, I, 102:

. . . my haire stands an ende with the panting of my braines.

News from G., 82:

Striking such horrors through their eares
Their haire may vpright stand with feares.

W. Hoe, II, 334:

Twould make our haire stand vp on end if wee shoulde. . . .

Satiro., I, 228:

You see the *Earth* . . .
Stands with her haire an end.

The expression appears four additional times in *Satiromastix* and once in *Match Mee in London.*

4. Imagery involving the quills of porcupines

Merry Devil, Induction, 3-4:

My stiffned haire stands vpright on my head
As doe the bristles of a porcupine.

The striking similarity between this passage and one from *Hamlet* has been mentioned, but it is interesting to observe that Shakespeare employed the figure only twice: *Hamlet,* I, v, 20

and *II Henry IV*, III, i, 363. Dekker, too, was fond of imagery involving the quills of porcupines. Compare, for instance, these passages:

Lond. Tri., III, 249:

> Adders, shoote your stings like quils
> Of Porcupines (stiffe).

Str. H-R., III, 351:

> The Diuill is *Behemah*, an *Elephant* for strength to ouercome and *Dornschweyn*, a *Porcupine* for quils, he shoots daily at our soules.

Dream, III, 53:

> Sharper then the quils of Porcupines, and longer,
> And further flying, and more swift and stronger.

See also *Satiro.*, I, 235, and *Wond. Year*, I, 87.

5. Figurative use of bullets for words

Merry Devil, I, ii, 9-10:

> Roome for my case of pistolles, that haue Greeke and Latine bullets in them.

Compare the similar imagery in these passages from Dekker:

Jests, II, 343:

> *Dulce noui miseris sed mors optata refugit.* These Latin bullets were shot so heauily out of the olde manes mouth. . . .

Dead T., IV, 65:

> The *Pen* is the Piece that shootes, *Inck* is the powder that carries, and *Wordes* are the Bullets that kill.

Rav. Al., IV, 210:

> . . . you shoote nothing but paper-bullets. . . .

Lant. Cand., III, 242:

> That done, *he* that . . . discharges the paper Bullets.

Jests, II, 350:

> . . . a foolish humor to pistoll them with paper bullets shot out of pen & inke-hornes.

Additional illustrations appear in *Seven D. S.*, II, 42 and 62; *Wond. Year.*, I, 81 and 110; *Jests*, II, 358; *News from G.*, 69-70; *Belman*, III, 82; and *Str. H-R.*, III, 372.

6. Tennis imagery

Merry Devil, I, iii, 132-133:

> Let vs alone, to bussell for the set;
> For age and craft with wit and Art haue met.

Idem, IV, i, 135-137:

> Let mee alone to bussle with your fathers.
> I warrant you that I will keepe them play
> Till you haue quit the chase; away, away!

Tennis imagery has long been recognized as characteristic of Thomas Dekker. Illustrations may be found in *Seven D. S.,* II, 62; *Rod for R.,* IV, 305; *Welsh Emb.,* 11, 288-289; and *Wily Beg.,* B1^{r}.

7. White-broth imagery

Merry Devil, I, i, 22:

> Away, you stale mess of white-broth!

In the notes to his edition of the play Manly writes: "The exact meaning is doubtful; 'white meat' is a general term including all sorts of dishes made with milk." Dekker's use of the expression should perhaps be noted:

Jests, II, 281:

> A Seruing man bringing a Capon and white-broth to the table, stumbled & let all fal to the ground. . . .

Seven D. S., II, 38:

> . . . and heare and there (like a prune in White-broth) is stucke a spruice but a meere prating vnpractised Lawyers Clarke all in blacke.

8. Imagery of smoking chimneys

In *The Merry Devil* Sir Arthur Clare objects to Milliscent's marriage to Raymond Mounchensey because Raymond's father has been too extravagant in his hospitality.

Merry Devil, I, i, 66-67:

> The nostrilles of his chimny are still stuft
> With smoake, more chargeable then Cane-tobacco.

This conception of hospitality as being expressed by smoking chimneys is characteristic of Dekker.

Str. H-R., III, 335-336:

. . . hee [Hospitality] keeps a place in the Countrey, & all the chimnies in it smoke. . . .

Wond. of K., IV, 224:

. . . open-handed charitie,
Sit's ever at his gates to welcome guests.
He makes no bone-fires, as my riotous kinsman,
And yet his chimneis cast out braver smoake.

Welsh Emb., 32, 985-986:

Yo^r^ number of chimneys are to Cozen beggers & make 'em fall a Cursinge, to see noe smoake in 'em. . . .

9. "Summons a parle" imagery

Merry Devil, I, i, 27-28:

Marry, heere's a forerunner that summons a parle. . . .

Although Shakespeare uses this phrase only once, in *1 Henry VI,* III, iii, 35, Dekker seems to have been fond of the expression.

Satiro., I, 265:

But now, Kings-truce, the Capten Summons a parlee. . . .

W. Hoe, II, 348:

Ile somon a parlee to one of the Wenches, and see how all goes.

Idem, 355:

I thats best Ile somon a parle.

Seven D. S., II, 23:

. . . parlies then are summond.

Idem, 51:

But hee sommoning a parlee. . . .

Wond. Year, I, 146:

. . . the Iustice . . . appeard . . . at a window, inquiring why they summond a parlie.

For additional examples see *Belman,* III, 91; *Dead T.,* IV, 8; *W. Hoe,* II, 357; *Rav. Al.,* IV, 210; and *Satiro.,* I, 233.

10. Childbirth imagery

Merry Devil, III, ii, 16-18:

And my deere bosome is so great with laughter,
Begot by his simplicity and error,
My soule is fallen in labour with her ioy.

For childbirth imagery Dekker seems to have had an inordinate fondness. When he wrote to Edward Allen from King's Bench on September 12, 1616, he tactfully apologized for his boldness by declaring that "a passionate desire of expressing gladness to see Goodness so well delivered having been long in labour in the world made mee thus far to venture."[73] In *The Noble Soldier,* H1[r], the queen declares:

> I am swolne big with child of vengeance now,
> And till deliver'd, feele the throws of hell.

Closely akin to this figure is Trapdore's speech in *The Roaring Girl,* III, 191:

> Some poore winde-shaken gallant will anon fall into sore labour, and these men-midwiues must bring him to bed i' the counter, there all those that are great with child with debts, lie in.

Compare also:

Wond. of K., IV, 251:

> His shipps are great with Child of *Turkish* Treasure,
> And heere shall be delivered.

Rav. Al., IV, 205:

> When therefore our aged Grandam (the earth) shall . . . be great with childe with Corne, flowers & fruits, and be ioyfully deliuered of them. . . .

News from H., II, 136:

> . . . he was sometimes one that liued vpon the Lecherie of mettals, for he could make one hundred pound be great with child, and be deliuered with another in a very short time.

The extent of Dekker's use of such imagery may be observed by comparing the following: *Wh. of Bab.,* II, 190, 213, 258, and 262; *News from H.,* II, 102 and 108; *Str. H-R.,* III, 346; *Lant. Cand.,* III, 301; *Dead T.,* IV, 24; *Belman,* III, 115; *Guls H. B.,* II, 208; *Wond. Year,* I, 86; *Lond. Tri.,* III, 239; *If This,* III, 312; *Mag. Ent.,* I, 269-270; *Rav. Al.,* IV, 245; *Sun's D.,* IV, 322; *News from G.,* 73; and *Lond. L. B.,* 176 and 177.

[73] Greg, *Henslowe Papers,* p. 92.

11. Theater imagery

Merry Devil, V, i, 141-144:

> . . . one Iade deceiues another, and your Ostler playes his part commonly for the fourth share. Haue wee Comedies in hand, you whoreson, villanous male London letcher?

In the following references from Dekker the phrase "plays his part," or some variant of it, appears: *Str. H-R.,* III, 363; *Hon. Wh. II,* V, ii, 273; *Lant. Cand.,* III, 251; *Noble S.,* G4^{r}; *Witch of Ed.,* V, ii, 471; *Match Me,* IV, 215; and *Rav. Al.,* IV, 211.

Dekker uses "comedy" as a figure of speech in *Black R.,* 201; *Hon. Wh. II,* IV, i, 257; *Match Me,* IV, 167 and 189; *N. Hoe,* III, 52 and 64; *If This,* III, 288; *Seven D. S.,* II, 28; *News from H.,* II, 118; *Belman,* III, 80 and 154; *Lant. Cand.,* III, 277 and 301; and *Dead T.,* IV, 82.

Dekker refers figuratively to "sharers" in *News from H.,* II, 146; *Lant. Cand.,* III, 282; *Wond. Year,* I, 134; and *Seven D. S.,* II, 64.

12. Sea imagery

Merry Devil, Induction, 50-59:

> The infinity of Arts is like a sea,
> Into which, when man will take in hand to saile
> Further then reason, which should be his pilot,
> Hath skill to guide him, losing once his compasse,
> He falleth to such deepe and dangerous whirlepooles,
> As he doth lose the very sight of heauen:
> The more he striues to come to quiet harbor,
> The further still he finds himselfe from land.
> Man, striuing still to finde the depth of euill,
> Seeking to be a God, becomes a Deuill.

Professor F. P. Wilson, arguing for Dekker's authorship of *News from Graves-End,* observes that "we may note that Dekker's very individual style betrays itself in every line. . . . We find examples of . . . racy metaphors drawn from the sea . . . and the simile long drawn out which served as a whetstone to sharpen his wit."[74]

[74] *Op. cit.,* Introduction, pp. xv-xvi.

Penny-Wise, 191:

> For sinne is a luscious meate, and the more we taste it, the more we desire it: It is a Sea, and being once got into it, (without a good Pilot) tis not so easie to returne againe to shoare.

If This, III, 312:

> Thou putst into a Sea, thou canst not sound,
> Ignorance still is foe to Arts profound.

For similar examples see *Bach. Ban.,* I, 257; *Virg. Mar.,* IV, 49; *R. Girl,* III, 179; *Hon. Wh. II,* III, i, 233; and *Wond. of K.,* IV, 230, 233, 248, and 269.

The frequency of figures involving ships, sailing, pilots, steering, and shipwrecks on the rocks is suggested by these examples:

Lond. Tri., III, 243:

> . . . *But (how blacke*
> *So ere the* Skyes *looke) dread not* Thou *a* Wracke,
> *For when* Integrity *and* Innocence *sit*
> *Steering the* Helme, *no* Rocke *the* Ship *can split.*

Wh. of Bab., II, 263:

> . . . And though a bloud
> Of courser veines then ours, would haue been stird
> Into a sea tempestuous to boyle vp,
> And drowne the Pilate that durst saile so farre.

Dream, III, 8:

> *Our tossing vp and down (here) is the Sea, but the land of Angels is our Shoare. Sayle so long as we can beare vp, through . . . all the sensuall Billowes of the World; yet there is one Harbour to put in at. . . . Bookes are Pilots in such voyages: would mine were but one point of the Compasse, for any man to steere well by.*

Noble S., B1[r]:

> As with a Shippe
> Now beat with stormes, now safe, the stormes are vanisht,
> And hauing you my Pylot, I not onely
> See shore, but Harbour.

Wond. of K., IV, 234-235:

> In such a ship of worldly cares my Lord
> As you must saile now in, yow'le need more Pilots
> Then your owne selfe to sit and steare the Helme.

Twenty-four additional passages could be cited to illustrate Dekker's fondness for this sort of imagery.

13. Imagery of hoisting sails

Merry Devil, IV, ii, 70-71:

> If the deuill be amongst vs, tis time to hoist saile, and cry roomer.

Pat. Gris., V, 1100-1101:

> There's a ship of fooles ready to hoyst sayl. . . .

News from H., II, 143:

> . . . she abhorres her owne workemanship, and makes haste to hoiste vp more Sayles. . . .

Dead T., IV, 29:

> So that to hoyst vppe Sayles in this *Ocean of Controversie.* . . .

Additional illustrations of the image may be found in *Mag. Ent.,* I, 287; *Kn. Conj.,* 15; *Str. H-R.,* III, 328; *Wond. Year,* I, 109; *Four Birds,* V, 100; *Seven D. S.,* II, 9; *Rav. Al.,* IV, 186; *Dead T.,* IV, 51; *Belman,* III, 164; *Lant. Cand.,* III, 269; *Hon. Wh. II,* IV, i, 253-256; and *Rod for R.,* IV, 273.

Evidence of Dekker's Piety

With Thomas Dekker religion was a passion. "His writing," says Miss Gregg, "is so distinguished for its scriptural tone that we are forced to believe he knew the Bible better than he knew any other book."[75] Dekker quotes from the Bible in and out of season; and although he was a lover of all kinds of beauty, he loved most of all, says Hunt, "the beauty of music, poetry, and religion."[76] In his introduction to *London Look Back,* Professor F. P. Wilson writes: "Here is the same fervent piety expressed now in gaudy rhetoric, now in a noble eloquence steeped in the language and cadences of the Bible."[77] Every sentiment expressed in the following passage from *The Merry Devil* is echoed and re-echoed in the pages of Dekker's plays, pageants, and pamphlets:

Induction, 42-49:

> O, that this soule, that cost so great a price
> As the deere pretious blood of her redeemer,

[75] *Thomas Dekker,* p. 70.
[76] *Op. cit.,* p. 199.
[77] *Op. cit.,* p. xxiv.

Inspirde with knowledge, should by that alone
Which makes a man so meane vnto the powers,
Euen lead him downe into the depth of hell,
When men in their own pride striue to know more
Then man should know!
For this alone God cast the Angelles downe.

Compare the thought of the first two lines of this passage with the ideas contained in the following excerpts:

Four Birds, V, 58:

. . . lay them [souls] vp in the treasure-house of Heauen, because they are the iewels bought with the price of thy precious blood.

Idem, 20-21:

O Good God, what is our life but a common Mart, wherein we . . . barter away our soules to sinne, which were bought at the dearest rate (euen thy Sonnes blood)?

Hon. Wh. I, II, i, 128:

You haue no soul, that makes you weigh so light;
Heauen's treasure bought it.

Dream, III, 23:

That Body, scourg'd and torne with many a wound,
That his deere Bloud (like Balme) might leaue vs Sound.

Another idea present in the passage quoted from *The Merry Devil* is that disaster results from overvaulting pride and ambition. This tenet is likewise a favorite of Dekker's.

Seven D. S., II, 8:

He [Adam] had more than he could desire, yet because he desired more than was fit for him, he lost all.

Dead T., IV, 46:

Whether my own ambition (in aspyring too high) or whether the Iustice of those aboue mee in punishing my pride, were the cause of my *Fall,* I know not.

Kn. Conj., 7:

. . . and goates . . . browzed there vpon weedes and barkes of trees, to shew the misery of ambition.

Four Birds, V, 71:

> Other sinnes haue their limits, but the streame of enuie keepeth within no bounds. If pride were barren, enuie would neuer haue beene borne.

Closely allied to Dekker's love of piety and fear of pride is his delight in an easy conscience and his dread of a guilty one. Two passages from *The Merry Devil* and four from Dekker's works will probably be sufficient to suggest that the same hand wrote all six of the excerpts:

Merry Devil, III, i, 91-94:

> Boy, I am glad to heare
> Thou mak'st such scruple of that conscience;
> And in a man so young as is your selfe,
> I promise you tis very seldome seene.

Idem, III, ii, 62-66:

> Madam, it is the order of this place,
> When any virgin comes for approbation,—
> Lest that for feare or such sinister practise
> Shee should be forcde to vndergoe this vaile,
> Which should proceed from conscience and deuotion,—

N. Hoe, III, 32:

> I, I warrant you, and aske you if you would haue such a great sinne lie vpon your conscience, as to lie with another mans wife.

Lond. Tri., III, 244:

> . . . He that's sound
> To himselfe (in Conscience) nere can run a-ground.

Sir T. W., III, 108:

> Which of you all, dares justifie this match,
> And not be toucht in conscience with an oath?

Black R., 201:

> The best and most pleasing Comedie, is that of a white Conscience, and the Peace of Mind.

Evidence of the Influence of Doctor Faustus *on Dekker*

Miss Hunt's evaluation of the influence of Marlowe on Dekker is expressed in these words: "Of this group of four [Marlowe, Peele, Greene, and Nashe], Marlowe, as might be expected, was by far the most important to Dekker; and though *Tambur-*

laine is mentioned in his works more often perhaps than any other play, . . . yet *Doctor Faustus* more deeply impressed itself upon his religious nature."[78] In the Induction to *The Merry Devil* appear the conventional victim and his familiar, the usual forfeiture of the soul to Satan, and the threat of eternal burning in hell. Coreb, the attendant, reminds his erstwhile master:

Lines 27-29:

> Didst thou not write thy name in thine owne blood,
> And drewst the formall deed twixt thee and mee,
> And is it not recorded now in hell?

Peter Fabell tricks Coreb, who promises him sternly:

Lines 82-83:

> Thy seauen yeeres done, noe tricke shall make me tarry,
> But, Coreb, thou to hell shalt Fabell carry.

Evidence of Dekker's Style

1. Direct appeal to the imagination

Merry Devil, Prologue, 22-25:

> Imagine now that whilst he is retirde
> From Cambridge backe vnto his natiue home,
> Suppose the silent, sable-visagde night
> Casts her blacke curtaine ouer all the world.

The device of appealing directly to the imagination is easily illustrated in these passages from Dekker's works:

Wond. Year, I, 109-110:

> Imagine then that all this while, Death (like a Spanish Leagar . . .) hath pitcht his tents.

Bach. Ban., I, 170:

> Imagin now how foward she will be to show her best skill in dancing and singing. . . .

News from H., II, 128:

> Suppose that being gloriously attired, deliciously feasted, attended on maiestically, Musicke charming thine eare, . . . thou shouldest be tombled downe.

[78] *Op. cit.,* p. 7.

Lant. Cand., III, 232:

> Suppose therefore that Foure of such loose fortun'd gallants were tied in one knot. . . .

Penny-Wise, 205:

> Suppose then you see them both come frõ beyond seas, not so beaten by windes and waues, as bitten by hunger.

2. Weak plot construction

The weakness of plot construction in *The Merry Devil* may be explained in part by the nature of the abridged extant text, but only in part. The utter lack of unity between the Induction and the play proper has provoked much comment. Von Friesen, arguing for Shakespearean authorship, supposes the play to have been written by "the youthful Shakespeare" before he became skilled in the art of dramatic structure.[79] In an appended note to Von Friesen's article, Friedrich Bodenstedt questions Shakespeare's authorship, concluding that the piece "is without the plot-unity found in the born dramatist, and without the art to cover up this basic quality."[80] Thomas Dekker was not only capable, but quite often guilty, of such looseness in structure. Miss Hunt describes his lack of skill in plot construction as one of his greater faults as a dramatist.[81] Miss Gregg adds that Dekker's plays and prose alike show "lamentable lack of structure."[82] Many of Dekker's scenes, she continues, are "episodes that too frequently find their sole interest in the Elizabethan appreciation of the unusual."[83] I submit that both the lack of unity between the Induction and the play and the spectacular effect of the Induction itself suggest a Dekkerian authorship.

3. Metrics

In his allotment of Dekker's share in *Westward-Hoe*, Professor Pierce points out[84] that the preponderance of masculine endings, the regular, measured beat of the ten-syllable line, the frequent rhyming of a long line with a short one, or a fragment of a line with a whole one, are all characteristic of Dekker.

[79] *Op. cit.*, I, 160-165.
[80] *Ibid.*, I, 165.
[81] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.
[82] *Op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.
[83] *Loc. cit.*
[84] *Op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

Mr. E. E. Stoll, after quoting a passage from *The Shoemakers' Holiday,* remarks: "Note the same persistent, emphatic accent, the end-stopt lines and strong endings, and—what is most notable and Dekker-like—the marked pause in the middle of the line, balancing two rather distinct, and sometimes parallelistic, phrases or clauses."[85] Miss Hunt corroborates[86] both Pierce and Stoll in these observations.

Such stylistic traits are readily apparent in *The Merry Devil.* Of the 990[87] lines of verse, 206 are rhyming lines;[88] in other words, 20.8 per cent of the verse is in rhyme—truly an abundance for a drama written at the close of the century, when the majority of playwrights were restricting their rhymes to the couplet at the end of scenes. But Dekker never restricted himself in such a manner; in passages of great lyrical beauty he seems to have been unable to avoid the use of rhyme. Very often his short speeches, even in the middle of a scene, are in couplets. *Old Fortunatus* has the amazingly large number of 566 rhyming lines, or 35.2 per cent, of the total number of 1,609 lines of verse. Of the 986 lines of verse in *The Honest Whore I,* 258, or 26.2 per cent, are in rhyme. *The Whore of Babylon* has 2,122 lines of verse, of which 554, or 26.1 per cent, are rhyming lines.[89] This high percentage of rhyme, common in Dekker's work, is not found so consistently in the plays of the other dramatists.

Other features of Dekker's style are his sparing use of run-on lines and his apparent dislike of feminine endings: 195 lines of *The Merry Devil,* or 19.7 per cent of all the verse, are run-on lines; and 127 lines, or 11.7 per cent, employ the feminine ending. It is the preponderance of masculine endings which seems to suggest Dekker's style in the longer speeches of the play.

[85] *John Webster,* p. 54. See also F. E. Pierce, "The Collaboration of Dekker and Ford," *Anglia,* XXXVI (1912), 141-168 and 289-312.

[86] *Op. cit.,* p. 6.

[87] Obviously the corruptness and abridgment of the text, as we have it, will affect the validity of any conclusion; nevertheless, the text which we have shows Dekker's stylistic features.

[88] I am drawing freely from Hopkinson's metrical table, p. xxv, in the Introduction to his 1914 edition of *The Merry Devil.*

[89] For these statistics I am indebted to Pierce, *The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker,* pp. 138-139.

As has been said, Dekker frequently uses the rhyme of a short line with a long one, or rhyming couplets in which one line has a pronounced break before the rhyme. He is fond, too, of rhyme between the last line of one speech and the first line of the next. Such tricks as these, says Pierce, are "matters, not of age, but of idiosyncrasy,"[90] and my close study of Dekker's verse leads me to agree. In *The Merry Devil* there are no fewer than eight instances[91] in which the fragment of a line is made to rhyme with a whole one. Likewise, there are no fewer than six instances in which the last line of one speech rhymes with the first line of the next.[92] Finally, there are forty-six couplets in which there is a distinct break before the rhyme of one of the lines, or a marked pause in the middle of the line, thus giving it a parallelistic and euphuistic balance. Perhaps a few illustrations will suffice:

Merry Devil, Induction, 84-85:

Then thus betwixt vs two this variance ends,
Thou to thy fellow Fiends, I to my friends.

I, i, 74-75:

His seate is weake; thus, each thing rightly scand,
You'le see a flight, wife, shortly of his land.

I, i, 102-103:

You will subscribe to it! good, good, tis well;
Loue hath two chaires of state, heauen and hell.

III, ii, 69-70:

Is that the order? I commend it well;
You to your shrift, Ile backe vnto my cell.

4. Repetition

A second noteworthy feature of Dekker's style is his repetition—repetition of ideas, of whole sentences, of clauses, phrases, and words. In his discussion of *Sir Thomas Wyatt,* Stoll mentions the "dogged reiteration and a breeziness very like Dekker,"[93] and on a later page,[94] while speaking of *Westward-Hoe,*

[90] *The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker,* p. 142.

[91] See, for example, Induction, 68-69; I, ii, 38-39 and 42-43; II, ii, 36-37; iii, 34-35.

[92] See, for example, I, ii, 46-47; II, iii, 15-16; III, i, 57-58 and 62-63.

[93] *Op. cit.,* p. 49.

[94] *Ibid.,* p. 65, n. 1.

he calls attention to the constant Dekker-like repetition of expressions and words, remarking: "If anything in the play is Dekker's, these things are." Miss Hunt also writes: "Sometimes it is Dekker's fondness for iteration and rhyme that helps to decide his authorship."[95] Professor F. P. Wilson, noticing this trait, uses it in arguing Dekker's authorship of *News from Graves-End:* "More trustworthy evidence is given by Dekker's practice of repeating phrases and sometimes whole sentences. We may note that Dekker's very individual style betrays itself in every line. We find . . . repetition for the sake of emphasis (e.g., 'no, no,' 'too, too,' 'only, only')."[96] Repetitions are present in *The Merry Devil.*

Prologue, 33:
Comes now to claime the Scholler for his due.

Induction, 17:
I must depart, and come to claime my due.

Induction, 2:
O, what a trembling horror strikes my hart!

I, i, 42:
Strange feare assailes my heart, vsurps my blood.

Induction, 37:
I will not for the mines of all the earth.

Induction, 70-72:
I will not for the mines of all the earth,
Vnles thou giue me libertie to see
Seuen yeares more, before thou sease on mee.

I, i, 8:
God a mercie, my good host Blague.

I, ii, 7:
God a mercy, good mine host.

[95] *Op. cit.*, p. 157. See also Pierce, "The Collaboration of Dekker and Ford," *Anglia,* XXXVI (1912), 151.
[96] *Op. cit.*, pp. xii ff.

I, ii, 23:
Still, and still, and still, my souldier of S. Quintins.

I, ii, 30:
And still, and still, and still, my boy.

I, iii, 47:
If I vnderstand thee, I am a villain.

I, iii, 63-64:
If I feele any thing in my forehead, I am a villain.

II, i, 7-8:
O it tickles our Catastrophe.

V, i, 137-138:
Ile tickle his Catastrophe for this.

For other examples of similar repetitions, compare the following: II, ii, 78 to IV, ii, 46; II, iii, 24 to II, iii, 29; III, i, 70 to III, ii, 137; III, i, 113 to III, i, 115; III, ii, 73 to IV, i, 90; II, ii, 20 to III, ii, 120; IV, i, 11 to IV, i, 16 and V, i, 84; IV, i, 143 to IV, i, 146-146, 155-156, and 159-160; IV, ii, 24 to V, i, 277; V, i, 54 to V, i, 73 and 106.

Just as certainly a mark of Dekker's hand is the "dogged reiteration" of the same word in the single line. Professor F. P. Wilson has called attention to this feature of Dekker's "very individual style," and examples of it are so abundant in all of his acknowledged plays and pamphlets that it seems unnecessary to quote from them here. A dozen instances from *The Merry Devil* should be sufficient to strengthen Dekker's claim to the play:

Induction, 60: Yes, yes; come hither.
I, i, 102: Good, good, tis well.
II, ii, 31: Sir, sir, I doe, she is mine owne.
II, ii, 48: I, doe, do.
III, ii, 123: Come, come, how does she, noble Capouchin?
IV, i, 137: Till you have quit the chase; away, away!
V, i, 6: Goe to, goe to, those dayes are gone with vs.
V, i, 7: Sir Arthur, Sir Arthur, care go with those dayes.
V, i, 12: Well, well, nay, nay, it shall not doe, it shall not.

V, i, 18: Well, well, ther's one gone for Frier Hildersam.
V, i, 29-30: Here, here, hee's here, hee's here. Good morrow, Frier; good morrow, gentle Frier.
V, i, 50-51: Knauery, knauery, knauery! I smell it, I smell it.
V, i, 133: Mine host, mine host, we lay all night at the George.
V, i, 199: Sir Sir, you are a foolish boy.

5. Puns

If there were only two or three puns in *The Merry Devil,* little significance could be attached to them; but there are as many as ten in the play, as short as it is, and two of these have a special Dekkerian flavor. Dekker, of course, is known to have been especially fond of punning.[97] In connection with the quibble on "Coopers Dixionary" (I, ii, 30) Miss Hunt's observation should probably be noted: "It would be idle to try to estimate the extent of Dekker's reading, the more so as he is in the habit of alluding to books and their characters indirectly, humorously, and even punningly."[98] This use of "Cooper's" is surely an instance where the poet alludes "even punningly" to an author.[99] Even more Dekkerian, however, is Bilbo's pun on his own name (I, ii, 16-18):

> Truely, mine host, Bilbo, though he be somewhat out of fashion, will be your onely blade still. I haue a villanous sharp stomacke to slice a breakfast.

Trapdore, a comic character in *R. Girl,* III, 150, enters and says:

> The trapdores set,
> *Moll* if you budge y'are gon.

Similar puns on the names of characters are made on Jacob van Smelt and Bunch in *Weakest G.,* IV, 236, 254, and 255, Tenterhook in *W. Hoe,* II, 307, and Firk in *Shoe. Hol.,* I, 29, 51, and 59.

6. Alliteration and use of attributive adjectives

Other recognized characteristics of Dekker's style in *The Merry Devil* are his alliteration and his customary string of at-

[97] Cf. Wilson, *op. cit.,* p. xv, and Hunt, *op. cit.,* p. 32.
[98] *Op. cit.,* p. 16. [99] See p. 188.

tributive adjectives used to produce comic effect. To Lyly's influence, of course, Dekker owed his predilection for alliteration—an influence, says Miss Hunt, which "helped to fix permanently the characterization and the style of some of his most delightful comedy."[100] I quote a few examples taken at random from his works, and a few lines from the first two acts of the play:

Wily Beg., B3^{r}:

> Sir the next way to win her love, is to linger her leysure.

Idem, B4^{r}:

> Alas thy state is poore, thy friends are few,
> And feare forbids to tell my fates to friend.

R. Girl, III, 145:

> How finely like a fencer my father fetches his by-blows to hit me.

Bach. Ban., I, 155:

> . . . then glutted with societie, or pinched with penury, he may perhaps begin to see his follie, and repent as well his fondness, as his too much forwardness, but all too late he must haue patience perforce.

Dream, III, 17:

> These transitory, poore Terrestriall terrors,
> Seru'd but as Heralde to sound forth the Horrors
> Of woes Eternall.

Note these examples from *The Merry Devil:*

Prologue, 24: Suppose the silent, sable-visagde night. . . .
Induction, 3: My stiffned haire stands vpright on my head. . . .
Induction, 45: Which makes a man so meane vnto the powers. . . .
Induction, 67: Darst thou deride the minister of darknes?
I, ii, 1-3: Ostlers, you knaues and commanders, take the horses of the knights and competitors: your honourable hulkes haue put into harborough.

Both the alliteration and the extravagance of this last passage are typical of Dekker. Typical, too, is the use of consecutive adjectives. Notice a second speech of Blague's (V, i, 143-144): "Haue wee Comedies in hand, you whoreson, villanous male London letcher?"

[100] *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

So much for traces of Dekker's style in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.* If verbal echoes and mental imagery seem to suggest him as author, the meter, the abundance of rhyme with its Dekkerian peculiarities, the repetitions, puns, alliteration, and use of attributive adjectives—all seem to support the suggestion.

Evidence of Dekker's Authorship from an Analysis of Atmosphere, Characters, and Plot Situations

Atmosphere

Evidence of Dekker's hand in *The Merry Devil* does not consist alone of similarities of expression, imagery, and style; as a matter of fact, the atmosphere which surrounds the lovers and clothes the major plot in a garment of idealistic and romantic loveliness is genuinely typical of Thomas Dekker. There is nothing violent, unnatural, disgusting, or unwholesome in the comedy. There is a noticeable preference for the gentle virtues: love is treated as a sacrament and not as a lustful passion; there is no treacherous friend and no villain worthy of the name; there are scenes of surpassing beauty and passages expressing sincere friendship. Just such passages, just such scenes, and just such an atmosphere we learn to expect from the author of *The Shoemakers' Holiday* and *Patient Grissil.* With respect to the comedy, the ready and turbulent humor of Mine Host and his associates is paralleled in other plays written by Dekker.

Characters

Moreover, some of the characters in *The Merry Devil* have blood relatives in the other dramas by "the best democrat of his age." The three young men, Raymond, Frank, and Harry, are, to be sure, more or less nondescript; they seem triplets born under the same star. Such is not the case, however, with Millicent Clare; on her the dramatist concentrated, and the result is another Susan of *The Witch of Edmonton,* another Rose and a second Jane of *The Shoemakers' Holiday,* and another Lelia of *Wily Beguild.* Dekker's women are "alas-what-shall-I-do" creatures; we love them for their loveliness, it is true, but also for their helplessness. They are far removed from Portia or even

Rosalind, perhaps, but they are cousins to Ophelia and very sisters to "the fair maid of Fressingfield"! Such a character is Milliscent. When Susan, gentleness and humility incarnate, addresses Frank:

> . . . You, sweet, have the power
> To make me passionate as an April-day;
> Now smile, then weep; now pale, then crimson red:
> You are the powerful moon of my blood's sea,
> To make it ebb or flow into my face,
> As your looks change,

we have Milliscent talking to Raymond:

> O, my deere life! I was adream't to night
> That, as I was a praying in mine Psalter,
> There came a spirit vnto me as I kneeld,
> And by his strong perswasions tempted me
> To leaue this Nunry; and me thought
> He came in the most glorious Angell shape,
> That mortall eye did euer looke vpon,
> Ha, thou art sure that spirit, for theres no forme
> Is in mine eye so glorious as thine owne.

Likewise, when Rose, thinking her Lacy has left her, sends her maid to discover the truth and urges:

> Do so good Sibill, meane time Wretched I
> Will sit and sigh for his lost companie,

we are listening to Milliscent:

> Whers Raymond, brother? whers my deere Mounchensey?
> Would wee might weepe together and then part;
> Our sighing parle would much ease my heart.

Or, later, when Rose recognizes her disguised lover and does not know what procedure to follow:

> Sibill, what shall I do?

and finally when she encourages Lacy:

> Be not dismaid at this, what ere befall,
> Rose is thine owne, to witnesse I speake truth,
> Where thou appoint the place, Ile meet with thee,

we are again in Milliscent's presence:

> Alas, sweete Loue, what shall become of me?

or

> Brother and friend, alas, what shall we doe?

or

> But, sweet Mounchensey, ere this yeare be done,
> Thou'st be a frier, if that I be a Nun.

or when she agrees to elope with Raymond:

> Sweet life, farewell! Tis done; let that suffice;
> What my tongue failes, I send thee by mine eyes.

Similarly, Jane, on the eve of her marriage to Hammon, confronted by her husband, whom she thought to be dead, and asked to choose between them, replies:

> Whom should I choose? whom should my thoughts affect?
> But him whom Heauen hath made to be my love.

Mary Fitz-Allard in *The Roaring Girl,* Odillia in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall,* and Lelia in *Wily Beguild*—all are Milliscent's sisters, and it seems to me most likely the creations of the same mind.

Common in Dekker, furthermore, is the use of the disguised character, but, of course, not to Dekker alone. The device of having the disguised Raymond speak in the doggerel employed by the prioress, is, however, Dekker-like. The same trick is resorted to, it will be remembered, when Winchester, also masked as a friar, addresses the king in *The Welsh Embassador.* In fact, Dekker's genius in giving reality to his disguised characters has won praise from Pierce,[101] who affirms that they are "perfect actors." He calls special attention to Angelo, in *The Wonder of a Kingdom,* who "talks French and chatters like a Gaul"; to Andelocia, in *Old Fortunatus,* who "hawks apples like a Yankee peddler, and talks unmistakable Irish"; and to Lacy, in *The Shoemakers' Holiday,* who "becomes so Dutch that we hardly recognize him ourselves."[102] He might well have included Ray-

[101] *The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker,* p. 113.
[102] *Loc. cit.*

mond Mounchensey, who affects the speech of the nunnery so perfectly that, had he not himself told us about his disguise, we should have taken him for the real Friar Benedic.

The most striking character in *The Merry Devil,* however, is not the gentle Milliscent but rather that prince of good fellows, the mad, merry Host of the George Inn. Towering above all the others he stands, individualized and emphasized by the dramatist. His diction, smelling of the sea and touched by the terms of the law, characterizes him unmistakably as one of the best-drawn characters in Elizabethan comedy. We read his bluff speeches aloud with pleasure; we chuckle at his phraseology after we lay the play aside. It is not surprising, therefore, that this jovial innkeeper has been compared often, and favorably, to that Shakespearean creation, the Knight of the Garter. Indeed, Hopkinson has founded his arguments for a Shakespearean authorship mainly on the conviction that Sir John Falstaff and Host Blague are brothers, begot by the same sire. Fleay, on the other hand, attempted to father the play on Michael Drayton chiefly because of the similarity between Blague and the Host in *Sir John Oldcastle.* It is true that the Host of the George has many brothers, and also true, I believe, that he is a kinsman of Falstaff, but only through imitation. A character so famous that Queen Elizabeth asked to see him in love would quite naturally be imitated, especially by Thomas Dekker, to whom an obvious imitation or an almost equally obvious plagiarism was a matter of common practice. His gleanings from Shakespeare have already caught the attention of scholars,[103] and Professor F. P. Wilson tells us:[104] "You get many reminiscences of Shakespeare in Dekker. For instance, when Shadow says (*Old F.,* I, 114): 'I am a villaine, master, if I am not hungrie';[105] when Carter says (*Witch of Ed.,* II, ii, 419): 'No harsh language,[106] if thou lovest me'; and when Asinius says (*Satiro.,* I, 232): 'I owe God a death, and he will make mee pay't against my will, Ile say tis

[103] J. Munro, "More Shakespeare Allusions," *M. P.,* XIII (1916), 509.

[104] *Loc. cit.* Wilson sent these references to Mr. Munro, who in this article acknowledges his indebtedness.

[105] Note *Merry Devil,* I, iii, 47: "If I vnderstand thee, I am a villain"; and I, iii, 63-64: "If I feele any thing in my forehead, I am a villain."

[106] Note *Merry Devil,* II, i, 23: "No oathes, no oaths, good neighbour Smug."

hard dealing,'—we are very near the presence of Sir John Falstaff." Wilson is no doubt correct, and to this list he could have added many expressions which fall from the lips of Blague, the "illiterate Boore, and yet the Cittizen of good fellowes."[107]

But it is not necessary to go to Shakespeare or to point to the play written partly by Drayton, to discover counterparts of the Host of the George: Dekker's plays are elevated in their humor by the presence of his cousins-german. Babulo with his spurts of Latin and his ready wit is one of them; Will Cricket, with his "Out of the profound circumambulation of my supernatural wit, Sir (do you understand?) will tel you the whole superfluity of the matter, Sir," is another; Nicoletto, "Mad Vanni," with his "Stocadoes, Imbrocadoes, Puntos, and Puntillios," is a third; the Host in *The Meeting of Gallants,* who addresses his customers: "I have them [tales] at my tongue's end, my Gallant Bullyes of five and twenty, my dainty liberall Landlords, I have them for you," is a fourth; and although it is not necessary to continue the list, it would certainly be incomplete without the name of Simon Eyre, the mad shoemaker who became Lord Mayor of London.[108] Both have characterizing phrases; that of Mine Host is "I'll serue the good Duke of Norfolk," and that of Simon Eyre, "Prince am I none yet princely am I born." Notice such expressions as these from Host Blague: "You Saint Dennis," "Ostlers, you knaues and commanders," "my souldier of S. Quintins," "Ha, my Castilian dialogues," "be valiant, my little Gogmagogs," "Come, yee Hungarian pilchers," "Here, Metrapolitane. The philistines are vpon vs," "Were you, my noble Romanes," and "Tis, my little Hebrew." Now observe Simon Eyre's diction: "My sweet Dioclesian," "You mad Mesopotamians, wash your livers with liquor," "silke and satten, you mad philistines, silke and satten," "away with your pisherie pasherie, your pols and your edipols," "come out you powder-beefe-queenes," "come you mad Hiperboreans," "auoyd Mephisto-

[107] For instance, I, i, 10-11: "Ther's not a Tartarian nor a Carrier, shall breath vpon your geldings"; or II, i, 54-55: "I haue Knights and Colonells at my house, & must tend the Hungarions.

[108] It has been a matter of surprise to me to discover that, so far as I have been able to learn, only McIlwraith has emphasized the similarity of Blague to Simon Eyre.

philes," "now my true Troians," and "worship and honour ye Babilonian knaues." These are only samples of speeches chosen more or less at random. The careful student will at once see a Simon Eyre in Host Blague or a Host Blague in Simon Eyre.

Nor does the Host alone resemble Dekker's characters; his associates—Smug, the drunken smith, Sir John, the roguish parson, and Banks, the mischievous miller—have their relatives in Dekker's plays. They find their closest counterparts, too, in *The Shoemakers' Holiday;* for if Simon Eyre and Blague are brothers under the skin, so are Hodge and Firk brothers to Smug, Banks, and Sir John.

Plot situations

In many of his plays Dekker employs similar dramatic situations.[109] Stoll summarizes the evidence thus:

In the *Shoemaker,* the *Roaring Girl,* and the *Honest Whore* there is a father trying to keep a son or a daughter from what he considers an unworthy match,—a slight romantic thread of story, in all cases, to which are loosely attached many picturesque, more or less episodic, low-life and genre scenes. In *Patient Grissil* and the *Honest Whore* there is the same story of a woman angering (or trying to anger) her husband by neglecting or spoiling the feast to which he had already invited people of quality. In *Satiromastix* and *Patient Grissil* a woman is wooed in rivalry, after much the same fashion, by a gentleman and a Welsh knight. In both the *Honest Whore* and *Match Me in London* there is the story of a villainous nobleman who hires a doctor to poison a man in the way, the doctor lyingly reporting the deed as committed, and, when he receives nothing for his pains, turning to help the victim. In both the *Honest Whore* and the *Roaring Girl,* a gallant pretends to a pliant citizen, at his wife's putting-on and in her presence, to have a claim to her. And in both *Satiromastix* and *Match Me in London* a citizen's wife is enticed to court by the machinations of a lustful king. In Dekker, then, repetition of dramatic situations is only to be expected.[110]

I am convinced that Stoll's conclusion is correct, and, moreover, that the parallelism between certain scenes and incidents in

[109] J. L. Brereton (*John Webster,* p. xxi) writes: "His repetitions in characterization are of a piece with his frequent recourse to themes or situations which he has found effective."

[110] *Lust's Dominion,* pp. 71-72.

The Merry Devil and similar scenes and incidents in the Dekker plays should not be attributed to mere coincidence. A careful reading of this play and those which belong to the Dekker canon will reveal such parallelism. Four examples follow:

(1) In *The Shoemakers' Holiday, The Wonder of a Kingdom, The Roaring Girl,* and *The Merry Devil* attempts to keep the lovers separated are of no avail, and meetings are arranged and executed by means of one or other of the lovers.

(2) In *Wily Beguild, The Wonder of a Kingdom,* and *The Merry Devil* the heroine's brother is an intimate friend of the suitor rejected by the girl's father, and through his agency, in part, the wedding is successfully planned or successfully completed.

(3) In *If This Be Not a Good Play* Scumbroth, a comic character, climbs a tree, watches the devils below him, and finally falls from the tree when the devils shoot off fireworks; in *The Merry Devil* Smug is accused of having fallen out of a tree the night before, most likely an allusion to a scene which the play once contained.

(4) At the conclusion of *Wily Beguild, The Shoemakers' Holiday, The Honest Whore I, The Roaring Girl, The Wonder of a Kingdom,* and *The Merry Devil* the successfully married couples fall on their knees before their respective parents, who forgive them and bid them rise to their feet.

. . . . . .

Upon the argument advanced in this section rests Dekker's claim to the play. The conclusions depend upon internal evidence, and such conclusions, thus arrived at, can never be considered as absolutely final. The apparent errors and obvious abridgments in the text are such as to make inconclusive any argument based solely upon internal grounds; but, unfortunately, of positive external evidence there is hardly a tittle. I cannot expect, therefore, to have presented proof which will readily convince all investigators; nevertheless, my personal conviction urges me to say that we shall be less likely to err if we give the play to Thomas Dekker than if we give it to William Shakespeare, Tony Brewer, Michael Drayton, or Thomas Heywood.

THE MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Sir Arthur Clare
Sir Richard Mounchensey
Sir Ralph Jerningham
Harry Clare, *Sir Arthur's son*
Raymond Mounchensey, *Sir Richard's son*
Frank Jerningham, *Sir Ralph's son*
Peter Fabell, *the Merry Devil*
Coreb, *a Spirit*
Blague, *Host of the George*
Sir John, *a Priest*
Banks, *the Miller of Waltham*
Smug, *the Smith of Edmonton*
Bilbo, *Servant to Sir Arthur*
Sexton
Brian, *Keeper of the Forest*
Raph, *Brian's man*
Friar Hildersham
Benedic
Chamberlaine
Lady Dorcas Clare, *Sir Arthur's wife*
Milliscent Clare, *Sir Arthur's daughter*
Prioresse
Nuns and Attendants

THE MERRY DEVILL OF EDMONTON.

As it hath beene ſundry times Acted, by his Maieſties Seruants, at the Globe, on the banke-ſide.

LONDON
Printed by *Henry Ballard* for *Arthur Iohnſon*, dwelling at the ſigne of the white-horſe in Paules Church yard, ouer againſt the great North doore of Paules. 1608.

THE PROLOGUE

Your silence and attention, worthy friends,
That your free spirits may with more pleasing sense
Relish the life of this our actiue sceane:
To which intent, to calme this murmuring breath,
We ring this round with our inuoking spelles;
If that your listning eares be yet prepard
To entertayne the subiect of our play,
Lend vs your patience.
Tis Peter Fabell, a renowned Scholler,
Whose fame hath still beene hitherto forgot
By all the writers of this latter age.
In Middle-sex his birth and his abode,
Not full seauen mile from this great famous Citty,
That, for his fame in sleights and magicke won,
Was calde the merry Fiend of Edmonton.
If any heere make doubt of such a name,
In Edmonton yet fresh vnto this day,
Fixt in the wall of that old antient Church,
His monument remayneth to be seene;
His memory yet in the mouths of men,
That whilst he liude he could deceiue the Deuill.
Imagine now that whilst he is retirde
From Cambridge backe vnto his natiue home,
Ar] Suppose the silent, sable-visagde night
Casts her blacke curtaine ouer all the world;
And whilst he sleepes within his silent bed,
Toylde with the studies of the passed day,
The very time and houre wherein that spirite
That many yeeres attended his commaund,

For an explanation of the abbreviations and symbols in the following textual notes, see p. 176.

13. *mile*] *miles* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
14. *sleights*] *sseights* Q1-Q2. *slights* Q3, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.*
24. *visagde*] *visage* Q3.

And often times twixt Cambridge and that towne
Had in a minute borne him through the ayre,
By composition twixt the fiend and him,
Comes now to claime the Scholler for his due.
[*Draw the curtaines.*
Behold him heere, laide on his restlesse couch,
His fatall chime prepared at his head,
His chamber guarded with these sable slights,
And by him stands that Necromanticke chaire,
In which he makes his direfull inuocations,
And binds the fiends that shall obey his will.
Sit with a pleased eye, vntill you know
The Commicke end of our sad Tragique show. [*Exit.*

[INDUCTION]

The Chime goes, in which time FABELL *is oft seene to stare about him, and hold vp his hands.*

Fab. What meanes the tolling of this fatall chime?
O, what a trembling horror strikes my hart!
My stiffned haire stands vpright on my head
As doe the bristles of a porcupine.

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30. *often*] *many* Dod.
33-34. S.D. QQ and Man. after line 32.
Draw] *Draws* Dod.-Scott, Haz., Walk., Hop., Olip.
36. *these*] *his* Q5-Q6.
41. S.D. omit. Q6, Reed, Col.-Haz., Hop.*

Induction] W.P. and later eds. *Erste Scene* Tieck. *Scene i* Tyr. *Act I, Scene i* Hop.*
S.D. *oft*] *often* Q3.
stare] *start* Q5-Q6.
1. *tolling*] *rouling* Q6. *rolling* Dod., Scott. *trolling* Reed.
3. *stiffned*] *stiffened* Q3, Scott.

Enter COREB, *a Spirit.*

Cor. Fabell, awake, or I will beare thee hence
Headlong to hell.
Fab. Ha, ha,
Why dost thou wake me? Coreb, is it thou?
Cor. Tis I.
Fab. I know thee well: I heare the watchfull dogs
With hollow howling tell of thy approch;
The lights burne dim, affrighted with thy presence;
And this distemperd and tempestuous night
Tells me the ayre is troubled with some Deuill.
[3v] *Cor.* Come, art thou ready?
Fab. Whither? or to what?
Cor. Why, Scholler, this the houre my date expires;
I must depart, and come to claime my due.
Fab. Hah, what is thy due?
Cor. Fabell, thy selfe.
Fab. O, let not darkenes heare thee speake that word,
Lest that with force it hurry hence amaine
And leaue the world to looke vpon my woe:
Yet ouerwhelme me with this globe of earth,
And let a little sparrow with her bill
Take but so much as shee can beare away,
That, euery day thus losing of my load,
I may againe in time yet hope to rise.
Cor. Didst thou not write thy name in thine owne blood,
And drewst the formall deed twixt thee and mee,
And is it not recorded now in hell?
Fab. Why comst thou in this sterne and horred shape,
Not in familiar sort, as thou wast wont?

5-6. *//hence/hell*] prose Q1-Q5.
5. *or*] *for* Haz.
7-8. *//ha/thou//*] *//me/thou//* QQ, Dod.-Haz., corr. by W.P.
20. *Lest*] *Least* Q2-Q5.
25. *losing*] *loosing* Q4-Q5.
27. *in*] *with* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

Cor. Because the date of thy command is out,
And I am master of thy skill and thee.
Fab. Coreb, thou angry and impatient spirit,
I haue earnest busines for a priuate friend;
Reserue me, spirit, vntill some further time.
Cor. I will not for the mines of all the earth.
Fab. Then let me rise, and ere I leaue the world,
Dispatch some busines that I haue to doe;
And in meane time repose thee in that chayre.
Cor. Fabell, I will. [*Sit downe.*
Fab. O, that this soule, that cost so great a price
As the deere pretious blood of her redeemer,
Inspirde with knowledge, should by that alone
Which makes a man so meane vnto the powers,
Euen lead him downe into the depth of hell,
When men in their owne pride striue to know more
Then man should know!
For this alone God cast the Angelles downe.
[A4r] The infinity of Arts is like a sea,
Into which, when man will take in hand to saile
Further then reason, which should be his pilot,
Hath skill to guide him, losing once his compasse,
He falleth to such deepe and dangerous whirlepooles,
As he doth lose the very sight of heauen:
The more he striues to come to quiet harbor,
The further still he finds himselfe from land.

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36. *spirit*] *sprit* Q5.
vntill] *till* Dod.
39. *Dispatch*] *Ile dispatch* Q2, Q4-Q6.
41. S.D. *Sit*] *Sits* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop., Olip.
42. *great*] *dear* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
45. *meane*] *near* Q6.
51. *man*] *men* Hop.
53. *losing*] *loosing* Q3, Q5.
55. *lose*] *loose* Q3-Q5.

Man, striuing still to finde the depth of euill,
Seeking to be a God, becomes a Deuill.
Cor. Come, Fabell, hast thou done?
Fab. Yes, yes; come hither.
Cor. Fabell, I cannot.
Fab. Cannot?—What ailes your hollownes?
Cor. Good Fabell, helpe me.
Fab. Alas! where lies your griefe? some *Aqua-vitae!*
The Deuil's very sicke, I feare hee'le die,
For he lookes very ill.
Cor. Darst thou deride the minister of darknes?
In Lucifers dread name Coreb coniures thee
To set him free.
Fab. I will not for the mines of all the earth,
Vnles thou giue me libertie to see
Seauen yeares more, before thou sease on mee.
Cor. Fabell, I giue it thee.
Fab. Sweare, damned fiend.
Cor. Vnbind me, and by hell I will not touch thee,
Till seauen yeares from this houre be full expirde.
Fab. Enough, come out.
Cor. A vengeance take thy art!
Liue and conuert all piety to euill:
Neuer did man thus ouer-reach the Deuill.
No time on earth like Phlegetontic flames
Can haue perpetuall being. Ile returne
To my infernall mansion; but be sure,

---

58. *finde*] *know* Q3.
depth] *dep h* Q1(C²).
68. *dread*] *great* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
70. *for the*] *for all the* Q5-Q6.
72. *yeares*] *fiends* Q1-Q2.
79. *Phlegetontic*] *Phaetentique* Q1(F)-Q3. *Phaetontic* Hop.* *Phaetontique* Q1(W), Q4-Q6, Dod.-Tyr., W.P., Man., Brooke. *Phaetonic* Haz., Walk., McIl. *Phaethonic* Hop. *Phaëtonic* Olip. *Phlegethonic* conj. by Nicholson.

Thy seauen yeeres done, noe tricke shall make me tarry,
But, Coreb, thou to hell shalt Fabell carry. [*Exit.*

[A4v] *Fab.* Then thus betwixt vs two this variance ends,
Thou to thy fellow Fiends, I to my friends. [*Exit.* 85

[ACT I.

SCENE I. *The George Inn, Waltham.*]

Enter SIR ARTHUR CLARE, DORCAS *his Lady,* MILLISCENT *his daughter, yong* HARRY CLARE, *the men booted, the gentlewomen in cloakes and safeguardes.* BLAGUE, *the merry host of the Georg, comes in with them.*

Blague. Welcome, good knight, to the George at Waltham, my free-hold, my tenements, goods & chattels. Madam, heer's a roome is the very *Homer* and *Iliads* of a lodging, it hath none of the foure elements in it; I built it out of the Center, and I drinke neere the lesse sacke. Welcome, my little 5 wast of maiden-heads! What? I serue the good Duke of Norfolke.

Sir Ar. God a mercie, my good host Blague: Thou hast a good seate here.

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83. S.D. omit. Q6.
Exit] *Exeunt* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
84. *betwixt*] *between* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
85. *Exit*] *Exeunt* Reed-Haz.

Act I, Scene i] W.P. and later eds. *Zweite Scene* Tieck. *Scene ii* Tyr. *Act I, Scene ii* Hop.*
S.D. *yong Harry Clare*] *young Clare* Q6, Dod.
men . . . gentlewomen] *man . . . gentlewoman* Q2.
3. *is*] *in* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.
5-7. Prose] *//sacke/what/Norfolke//* QQ, Dod.-Scott, corr. by Col.
6-7. Prose] *//what/Norfolke//* QQ, corr. by Dod.
8-9. Prose] *//Blague/here//* QQ, Dod.-Haz., corr. by W.P.

Blague. Tis correspondent or so: there's not a Tartarian nor a Carrier shall breath vpon your geldings; they haue villanous rancke feete, the rogues, and they shall not sweat in my linnen. Knights and Lords too haue bene drunke in my house, I thanke the destinies.

Harry. Pre' the, good sinful Inkeeper, wil that corruption, thine Ostler, looke well to my gelding. Hay, a poxe a these rushes!

Blague. You Saint Dennis, your gelding shall walke without doores, and coole his feete for his masters sake. By the body of S. George, I haue an excellent intellect to go steale some venison: now, when wast thou in the forrest?

Harry. Away, you stale messe of white-broth! Come hither, sister, let me helpe you.

Sir Ar. Mine Host, is not Sir Richard Mounchensey come yet, according to our appointment, when we last dinde here?

Blague. The knight's not yet apparent. —Marry, heere's a fore-runner that summons a parle, and saith, heele be here top and top-gallant presently.

Sir Ar. Tis well, good mine host; goe downe, and see breakfast be prouided.

Fr] *Blague.* Knight, thy breath hath the force of a woman, it takes me downe; I am for the baser element of the kitchin: I

10-14. Prose] *//Tartarian/geldings/rogues/linnen/house/ destinies//* QQ, Dod.-Scott, corr. by Col.
16. *looke*] *to look* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
gelding] *geldings* Q1-Q3, Q5.
a these] *of these* Q3-Q6, Dod.-Man., Olip. *o' these* McIl.
18. *gelding*] *geldings* Q1-Q3.
19. *feete*] *heels* Q6, Dod.
20. *S. George*] *S George* Q1(H). *Saint George* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.* *St. George* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
to go steale] *to goe to steale* Q3, Dod.
22-23. Prose] *//broth/you//* Hop.*
28. *saith*] *faith* Col.-Haz., Hop.*

retire like a valiant souldier, face point blanke to the foeman, or, like a Courtier, that must not shew the Prince his posteriors; vanish to know my canuasadoes, and my interrogatories, for I serue the good Duke of Norfolke. [*Exit.*

Sir Ar. How doth my Lady? are you not weary, Madam?
Come hither, I must talke in priuate with you;
My daughter Milliscent must not ouer-heare.

Mill. I, whispering; pray God it tend my good!
Strange feare assailes my heart, vsurps my blood. *(Aside)*

Sir Ar. You know our meeting with the knight Mounchensey
Is to assure our daughter to his heire.

L. Clare. Tis, without question.

Sir Ar. Two tedious winters haue past ore, since first
These couple lou'd each other, and in passion
Glewd first their naked hands with youthfull moysture—
Iust so long, on my knowledge.

L. Clare. And what of this?

Sir Ar. This morning should my daughter lose her name,
And to Mounchenseys house conuey our armes,
Quartered within his scutchion; th' affiance, made
Twixt him and her, this morning should be sealde.

L. Clare. I know it should.

Sir Ar. But there are crosses, wife; heere's one in Waltham,

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34. *souldier, face*] *souldiers face* Q1, Q3.
35. *the*] *his* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
36. *vanish*] *I vanish* W.P., Walk., Olip., McIl.
37. S.D. omit. Q6, Dod.
41. *tend my*] *tend to my* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-W.P.
41-42. *//good/blood//*] prose McIl.
42. *feare*] *feares* Q5-Q6, Dod.
assailes] *assail* Q6, Dod.
47. *These*] *This* Q6, Dod., W.P., Walk., Olip.
48. *first their*] *their first* Dod.
49. *this*] *that* Hop.
50. *lose*] *loose* Q4-Q5.
55. *in*] *at* Q6, Dod.

Another at the Abby, and the third
At Cheston; and tis ominous to passe
Any of these without a pater-noster.
Crosses of loue still thwart this marriage,
Whilst that we two, like spirits, walke in night
About those stony and hard hearted plots.
Mill. O God, what meanes my father? *(Aside)*
Sir Ar. For looke you, wife, the riotous old knight
Hath o'rerun his annual reuenue
In keeping iolly Christmas all the yeere:
The nostrilles of his chimny are still stuft
With smoake, more chargeable then Cane-tobacco;
B^{v}] His hawkes deuoure his fattest dogs, whilst simple,
His leanest curres eate his hounds carrion.
Besides, I heard of late, his yonger brother,
A Turky merchant, hath sure suck'de the knight
By meanes of some great losses on the sea;
That, you conceiue mee, before God, all's naught,
His seate is weake; thus, each thing rightly scand,
You'le see a flight, wife, shortly of his land.
Mill. Treason to my hearts truest soueraigne:

---

56. *the third*] *a third* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
57. *Cheston*] *Ceston* Q4.
tis ominous] *it is omnius* Q5. *it is ominous* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
60. *spirits*] *sprites* Q3.
61. *those*] *these* Hop.*
64. *o'rerun*] *over-run* Col.-Man., Hop., McIl.
66. *chimny*] *chimneys* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
68. *dogs . . . simple*] *hogs . . . Simple* Haz., Walk., Hop.*
69. *curres eate his*] *curres eate him* Q1, Q3, Brooke, McIl. *cur, eats his* Haz., Walk.
Period omit. after *carrion* Q1(F).
71. *A*] *Or* QQ, Reed-Col.
sure] *sore* Q6, Dod., Haz.-Man., Hop.-McIl.
73. *all's*] *all* Q1-Q5. *all is* Q6, Dod.-Scott, Brooke, Hop.
74. *seate*] *state* conj. by Walk.

How soone is loue smothered in foggy gaine! *(Aside)*
L. Clare. But how shall we preuent this dangerous match?
Sir Ar. I haue a plot, a tricke, and this it is—
Vnder this colour Ile breake off the match:
Ile tell the knight that now my minde is changd
For marrying of my daughter, for I intend
To send her vnto Cheston Nunry.
Mill. O me accurst! *(Aside)*
Sir Ar. There to become a most religious Nunne.
Mill. Ile first be buried quicke. *(Aside)*
Sir Ar. To spend her beauty in most priuate prayers.
Mill. Ile sooner be a sinner in forsaking
Mother and father. *(Aside)*
Sir Ar. How dost like my plot?
L. Clare. Exceeding well; but is it your intent
Shee shall continue there?
Sir Ar. Continue there? Ha, ha, that were a iest!
You know a virgin may continue there
A twelue moneth and a day onely on triall.
There shall my daughter soiourne some three moneths,
And in meane time Ile compasse a faire match
Twixt youthfull Ierningham, the lusty heire
Of Sir Raph Ierningham, dwelling in the forrest—
I thinke they'le both come hither with Mounchensey.
L. Clare. Your care argues the loue you beare our childe;
I will subscribe to any thing youle haue me. [*Exeunt.*
Mill. You will subscribe to it! good, good, tis well;
Loue hath two chaires of state, heauen and hell.

---

81. *knight*] *knights* Q4-Q5.
85. Prefix omit. Q2.
most omit. Hop.
94. *onely* omit. Haz.
100. *our*] *your* Q6, Dod.
S.D. after line 99 Q1-Q3.
102. *good, good*] *good* Dod.-Scott.

3r] My deere Mounchensey, thou my death shalt rue,
Ere to thy heart Milliscent proue vntrue. [*Exit.* 105

[SCENE II. *The same.*]

Enter BLAGUE.

Blague. Ostlers, you knaues and commanders, take the horses of the knights and competitors: your honourable hulkes haue put into harborough, theile take in fresh water here, and I haue prouided cleane chamber-pots. *Via, they come!*

Enter SIR RICHARD MOUNCHENSEY, SIR RAPH IERNINGHAM, *yong* FRANKE IERNINGHAM, RAYMOND MOUNCHENSEY, PETER FABELL, *and* BILBO.

Blague. The destinies be most neate Chamberlaines to these swaggering puritanes, knights of the subsidy.

Sir Rich. God a mercy, good mine host.

Sir Ralph. Thankes, good host Blague.

Blague. Roome for my case of pistolles, that haue Greeke and Latine bullets in them; let me cling to your flanks, my nimble Giberalters, and blow wind in your calues to make them swell bigger. Ha, Ile caper in mine owne fee-simple; away with puntillioes and Orthography! I serue the good Duke of Norfolke. Bilbo, *Titere tu, patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.*

Bil. Truely, mine host, Bilbo, though he be somewhat out of fashion, will be your onely blade still. I haue a villanous

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104. *shalt*] *shall* Hop.*
105. S.D. *Exit*] *Exeunt* Dod.

Scene ii] no division QQ, Dod.-Haz. *Dritte Scene* Tieck. *Scene ii* W.P. and later eds.
4. *Via*] *voyez* Dod.
11. *Giberalters*] *Giberlaters* Q5-Q6, Dod.
14. *Bilbo* set in from left margin in Q2.
14-15. *Titere . . . fagi* given to Bilbo Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
17. *onely*] *one y* Q1(F)(H).

sharp stomacke to slice a breakfast.

Blague. Thou shalt haue it without any more discontinuance, releases, or atturnement. What! we know our termes of hunting and the sea-card.

Bil. And doe you serue the good duke of Norfolke still?

Blague. Still, and still, and still, my souldier of S. Quintins: come, follow me; I haue Charles waine below in a but of sacke, t'will glister like your Crab-fish.

Bil. You haue fine Scholler-like tearmes; your Coopers Dixionary is your onely booke to study in a celler, a man shall finde very strange words in it. Come, my host, lets serue the good duke of Norfolke.

Blague. And still, and still, and still, my boy, Ile serue
[B2v] the good duke of Norfolke. [*Exeunt Host and Bilbo.*]

[*Enter* SIR ARTHUR CLARE, HARRY CLARE *and* MILLISCENT.]

Sir Ralph. Good Sir Arthur Clare!

Sir Ar. What Gentleman is that? I know him not.

Sir Rich. Tis M[aister] Fabell, Sir, a Cambridge scholler,
My sonnes deere friend.

Sir Ar. Sir, I intreat you know me.

Fab. Command me, sir; I am affected to you
For your Mounchenseys sake.

Sir Ar. Alas, for him,
I not respect whether he sinke or swim: *(Aside)*
A word in priuate, Sir Raph Ierningham.

---

23. *S. Quintins*] *S. Quintus* Q1, Q3. *St. Quentins* Walk., Hop.-McIl. *St. Quintin's* Hop.*
25. *t'will*] *I will* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod., Col., Tyr., Hop.*
28. *very*] *many* Hop.*
31. *Exeunt . . . Bilbo* add. by Tyr.
S.D. *Enter . . . Harry Clare* add. by Reed. *and Milliscent* add. by Col.
34. *M[aister]*] *Mr.* Q6, Dod.-Tyr. *Master* Haz.

Ray. Me thinks your father looketh strangely on me:
Say, loue, why are you sad?
Mill. I am not, sweete;
Passion is strong, when woe with woe doth meete.
(Aside)
Sir Ar. Shall's in to breakfast? after wee'l conclude
The cause of this our comming: in and feed,
And let that vsher a more serious deed.
Mill. Whilst you desire his griefe, my heart shall bleed. *(Aside)*
Frank. Raymond Mounchensey, come, be frolick, friend,
This is the day thou hast expected long.
Ray. Pray God, deere Ierningham, it proue so happy.
Frank. There's nought can alter it. Be merry, lad!
Fab. There's nought shall alter it. Be liuely, Raymond!
Stand any opposition gainst thy hope,
Art shall confront it with her largest scope. [*Exeunt.*

[SCENE III. *The same.*]
PETER FABELL, *solus.*

Fab. Good old Mounchensey, is thy hap so ill,
That for thy bounty and thy royall parts
Thy kind alliance should be held in scorne,
And after all these promises by Clare
Refuse to giue his daughter to thy sonne,
Onely because thy Reuenues cannot reach

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41. *looketh*] *looks* Q6, Dod.
42. *sad*] *so sad* Q3.
46. S.D. *Exit* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
47. S.D. *Exit* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
48. Prefix: *Frank*] *Young Cla.* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
50. *Ierningham*] *Harry Clare* QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
51. Prefix: *Frank*] *Young Clare* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
can] *shall* Q3.
54. *Exeunt*] *Exeunt* [*all but Fabell*] Man.

Scene iii] W.P. and all later eds. except Olip.
4. *by*] *my* Haz., W.P., Walk., Olip.

To make her dowage of so rich a ioynture
As can the heire of wealthy Ierningham?
And therefore is the false foxe now in hand
To strike a match betwixt her and th' other;
[B3r] And the old gray-beards now are close together,
Plotting it in the garden. Is't euen so?
Raymond Mounchensey, boy, haue thou and I
Thus long at Cambridge read the liberall Arts,
The Metaphysickes, Magicke, and those parts
Of the most secret deepe philosophy?
Haue I so many melancholy nights
Watch'd on the top of Peter-house highest tower?
And come we backe vnto our natiue home,
For want of skill to lose the wench thou lou'st?
Weele first hang Enuill in such rings of miste
As neuer rose from any dampish fenne:
Ile make the brinde sea to rise at Ware,
And drowne the marshes vnto Stratford bridge;
Ile driue the Deere from Waltham in their walkes,
And scatter them like sheepe in euery field.
We may perhaps be crost, but, if we be,
He shall crosse the deuill, that but crosses me.

Enter RAYMOND *and yong* IERNING(HAM) [*and young* CLARE.]

But here comes Raymond, disconsolate & sad,

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10. *th' other*] *the other* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
12. *Plotting it in*] *Plotting in* Dod.
20. *lose*] *loose* Q3-Q5.
21. *Weele*] *I'll* Haz.
Enuill] *Enfield* Haz.-Man., Hop.-McIl.
23. *brinde*] *brinish* Q6, Dod. *brined* Reed-Col., Haz., McIl. *brinéd* Tyr., Hop.,* Walk., Hop. *brinëd* Olip.
28. S.D. *Enter . . . Ierning* placed in right margin Q1-Q4. In center of page Q5. *and young Clare* add. Q6.
29. *disconsolate*] *disconsolant* Q4.

And heeres the gallant that must haue the wench.
[*Frank.*] I pri'thee, Raymond, leaue these solemne dumps:
Reuiue thy spirits, thou that before hast beene
More watchfull then the day-proclayming cocke,
As sportiue as a Kid, as francke and merry
As mirth herselfe.
If ought in me may thy content procure,
It is thine owne, thou mayst thy selfe assure.
Ray. Ha, Ierningham, if any but thy selfe
Had spoke that word, it would haue come as cold
As the bleake Northerne winds vpon the face
Of winter.
From thee they haue some power vpon my blood;
Yet being from thee, had but that hollow sound
Come from the lips of any liuing man,
It might haue won the credite of mine eare;
From thee it cannot.
Frank. If I vnderstand thee, I am a villain:
B^{v}] What, dost thou speake in parables to thy friends?
Harry. Come, boy, and make me this same groning loue,
Troubled with stitches and the cough a'th lungs,
That wept his eyes out when he was a childe,
And euer since hath shot at hudman-blind,
Make him leape, caper, ierke, and laugh, and sing,

---

30. *heeres the*] *heere comes the* Q5-Q6, Dod.
31. Prefix: *Frank* add. Q4.
40. *winds*] *wind* Q3. Ends//*face*//] //*winter*// Q6, Dod.
41-46. //*winter*/*blood*/*sound*/*man*/*eare*/*cannot*//]
//*power*/*thee*/*lips*/*won*/*cannot*// Haz.
42. *vpon*] *of* Q5-Q6. *on* Dod.-Scott.
48. *friends*] *friend* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
S.D. *Enter Young Clare* after line 48 Reed-Haz., Hop.*
49-56. Given to Frank by Hop.*
50. *a'th*] *o'th* Q5-Q6, Dod.
53. *him* conj. by Daniel] *her* QQ and all eds. except Brooke, Hop.

And play me horse-trickes;
Make Cupid wanton as his mothers doue:
But in this sort, boy, I would haue thee loue.

Fab. Why, how now, mad-cap? what, my lusty Franke,
So neere a wife, and will not tell your friend?
But you will to this geere in hugger-mugger;
Art thou turnde miser, Rascall, in thy loues?

Frank. Who, I? z'blood, what should all you see in me, that I should looke like a married man, ha? Am I balde? are my legs too little for my hose? If I feele any thing in my forehead, I am a villain: doe I weare a night-cap? doe I bend in the hams? What dost thou see in me, that I should be towards marriage, ha?

Harry. What, thou married? let me looke vpon thee, Rogue; who has giuen out this of thee? how camst thou into this ill name? what company hast thou bin in, Rascall?

Fab. You are the man, sir, must haue Millescent:
The match is making in the garden now;
Her ioynture is agreed on, and th' old men,
Your fathers, meane to lanch their busy bags;
But in meane time to thrust Mountchensey off,
For colour of this new intended match,
Faire Millescent to Cheston must be sent,
To take the approbation for a Nun.
Nere looke vpon me, lad, the match is done.

Frank. Raymond Mountchensey, now I touch thy griefe

61-66. Prose] *//me/ha/hose/am//* Q1-Q3, Q5. *//me/ha/hose/villaine/hams/ha//* Q4, Q6, Dod.-Scott.

68-69. Prose] *//how/company/Rascall//* Q1-Q3. *//thee/company/Rascall//* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Scott.

68. *out this of*] *this out of* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

72. *th'old*] *the old* Reed-Haz., Hop.*

73. *lanch*] *launch* Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
busy] *pursy* Dod.

74. *in meane*] *in the meane* Col.-Haz., Hop.*

With the true feeling of a zealous friend.
And as for faire and beauteous Millescent,
With my vaine breath I will not seeke to slubber
Her angell like perfections; but thou know'st
That Essex hath the Saint that I adore.
Where ere did we meete thee and wanton springs,
That like a wag thou hast not laught at me,
And with regardles iesting mockt my loue?
How many a sad and weary summer night
My sighs haue drunke the dew from off the earth,
I've taught the watchfull Niting-gale to wake,
And from the meadowes sprung the earely larke
An houre before she would haue rose to sing:
I haue loaded the poore minutes with my moanes,
That I haue made the heauy slow pasde houres
To hang like heauie clogs vpon the day.
But, deere Mounchensey, had not my affection
Seasde on the beauty of another dame,
Before I'd wrong the chaste and virgin loue

---

85. *did we meete thee and wanton springs*] *dids't meete me, but* (*that* Q6, Hop.*) *we two were loviall* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz.
86. *That*] *But* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
88. *Now*] *How* Dod. and all later eds.
89. *sighs*] *sights* Q3.
90. *I've taught the watchfull Niting-gale to wake*] *I haue taught the watchfull Niting-gale to wake* Q1(F)(H). *I haue taught the Niting-gale to wake* Q1(C^2)(W), Q3. *And I haue taught the Nitingale to wake* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-McIl.
91. *sprung*] *spring* Q1, Q3, Brooke.
92. *would haue rose*] *should haue rose* Q1(F). *would haue rose* Q1(H). *should haue rest* Q1(C^2)(W), Q3. *should haue list* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-McIl.
94. *slow pasde*] *slow-paced* Hop.*
98. *Before I'd wrong the chaste and virgin loue* conj. by Mr. William Wells] *Before I would giue o're the chase and*

Of one so worthy and so true a friend,
I will abiure both beauty and her sight,
And will in loue become a counterfeit.
Ray. Deere Ierningham, thou hast begot my life,
And from the mouth of hell, where now I sate,
I feele my spirit rebound against the stars:
Thou hast conquerd me, deere friend, in my free soule:
There time nor death can by their power controule.
Fab. Franke Ierningham, thou art a gallant boy;
And were he not my pupill, I would say
He were as fine a metled gentleman,
Of as free spirit, and of as fine a temper
As is in England; and he is a Man
That very richly may deserue thy loue.
But, noble Clare, this while of our discourse,
What may Mounchenseys honour to thy selfe
Exact vpon the measure of thy grace?
Harry. Raymond Mounchensey, I would haue thee know,

---

wronge the loue Q1(F)(H). *Before I would Vnage the chase and ouergiue loue* Q1(C²)(W). *Before I would wrong the chase and leaue the loue* Q2, Q4-Q6, Col.-Haz., Hop.* *Before I'de wronge the chase, and o'regiue loue* Q3, Reed, Scott, Man. *Before I'de wrong the chase, and o'regive th'love* W.P., Walk. *Before I would wrong the chase, and ouergiue loue* Brooke, Hop., McIl.

105. *in*] *and* Dod.

106. *There time*] *Their time* Q1-Q3, Brooke. *Nor time* Dod., Hop. *Neither time* W.P., Walk., Olip.
nor] *or* Q1-Q2, Q4-Q6, McIl.
their power] *there power* Man.

110. *free spirit*] *free a spirit* Hop.
and of as] *and as* Reed, Scott.

111. *As . . . Man*] omit. in Q1(C²)(W).
As is in] *As any in* Dod.

116-121. *//know/ayre/loue/Mounchenseyes/man/parts//*] *//know/cherish/Mountchensey's/man/parts//* Col.-Haz., Hop.*

He does not breath this ayre,
Whose loue I cherish, and whose soule I loue
More then Mounchenseyes:
Nor euer in my life did see the man
I1v] Whom, for his wit and many vertuous parts,
I thinke more worthy of my sisters loue.
But since the matter growes vnto this passe,
I must not seeme to crosse my Fathers will;
But when thou list to visit her by night,
My horses sadled, and the stable doore
Stands ready for thee; vse them at thy pleasure.
In honest mariage wed her frankly, boy,
And if thou getst her, lad, God giue thee ioy!
Ray. Then, care, away! let fates my fall pretend,
Backt with the fauours of so true a friend!
Fab. Let vs alone, to bussell for the set;
For age and craft with wit and Art haue met.
Ile make my spirits to dance such nightly Iigs
Along the way twixt this and Totnam crosse,
The Carriers Iades shall cast their heauie packs,
And the strong hedges scarse shall keepe them in:
The Milke-maides Cuts shall turne the wenches off,
And lay the Dossers tumbling in the dust:
The franke and merry London prentises,

---

122. *more*] *no more* Q2.
worthy] *worth* Q4-Q5.
126. *horses*] *horse is* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Olip.
130. Prefix omit. Q2.
care] *Care* Olip.
fates] *Fate* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
132. *bussell*] *bustle* Reed-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
133. *haue*] *hath* Q4-Q6, Dod.
134. *spirits*] *sprites* Q2.
to omit. Dod.
Iigs omit. Q3.
139. *lay the*] *lay their* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

That come for creame and lusty country cheere,
Shall lose their way; and, scrambling in the ditches,
All night shall whoop and hollow, cry and call,
Yet none to other finde the way at all.

Ray. Pursue the proiect, scholler: what we can do
To helpe indeauour, ioyne our liues thereto! [*Exeunt.*]

[ACT II.

SCENE I. *Waltham: The house of Banks.*]

Enter BANKS, SIR IOHN *and* SMUG.

Banks. Take me with you, good Sir Iohn! A plague on thee, Smug, and thou touchest liquor, thou art founderd straight. What, are your braines alwayes water-milles? must they euer runne round?

Smug. Banks, your ale is a Philistine fox; z'hart, theres fire i'th taile on't; you are a rogue to charge vs with Mugs i'th rereward. A plague of this winde; O, it tickles our Catastrophe.

Sir Iohn. Neighbour Banks of Waltham, and Goodman Smug, the honest Smith of Edmonton, as I dwell betwixt you both at Enfield, I know the taste of both your ale houses, they are good both, smart both. Hem, Grasse and hay! we

---

142. *lose*] *loose* Q5.
144. *Yet*] *And* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.
146. S.D. *Exeunt* omit. Q1-Q3.

Act II, Scene i.] W.P. and later eds. *Vierte Scene* Tieck. *Scene iii* Tyr. *Act I, Scene iii* Hop.*
2. *and*] *an* Hop.,* Walk.
5. *is a*] *is as a* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
z'hart] *nounes* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.* *heart* Walk., Hop.
theres] *there* Q3.
6. *i'th*] *i't* Q4.
on't] *out* Q1-Q3. *Out!* Man.

[I^r] are all mortall; let's liue till we die, and be merry; and theres an end.

Banks. Well said, sir Iohn, you are of the same humor still; and doth the water runne the same way still, boy?

Smug. Vulcan was a rogue to him; Sir Iohn, locke, lock, lock fast, sir Iohn; so, sir Iohn. Ile one of these yeares, when it shall please the Goddesses and the destinies, be drunke in your company; thats all now, and God send vs health: shall I sweare I loue you?

Sir John. No oathes, no oaths, good neighbour Smug!
Weel wet our lips together and hugge:
Carrouse in priuate, and eleuate the hart, and the liuer and the lights,—and the lights, marke you me, within vs; for hem, grasse and hay! we are all mortall, lets liue till we die, and be merry, and thers an end.

Banks. But to our former motion about stealing some venison; whither goe we?

Sir John. Into the forrest, neighbour Banks, into Brians walke, the madde keeper.

Smug. Z'blood! Ile tickle your keeper.

Banks. Yfaith, thou art alwayes drunke when we haue neede of thee.

Smug. Neede of mee? z'hart, you shall haue neede of mee alwayes while theres yron in an Anuill.

---

13. *are all*] *are not yet all* Dod.
we] *he* Q2.
22-23. *//Smug/hugge//*] prose, Brooke.
23. *and*] *in* Q1, Q3, W.P., Man.
24-27. Prose] *//hart/lights/hem/be/end//* QQ, Dod.-Scott.
24-25. *and the lights* not repeated Q5-Q6, Dod.
26. *are all*] *are not yet all* Dod.
28. *to*] *ro* Q1(W).
32. *Z'blood*] *Blood* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
35. *z'hart*] *hart* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
36. *theres*] *there is* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

Banks. M[aister] Parson, may the Smith goe, think you, being in this taking?

Smug. Go? Ile goe in spight of all the belles in Waltham.

Sir John. The question is, good neighboure Banks—let mee see: the Moone shines to night,—ther's not a narrow bridge betwixt this and the forrest,—his braine will be setled ere night: he may go, he may go, neighbour Banks. Now we want none but the company of mine host Blague of the George at Waltham; if he were here, our Consort were full. Looke where comes my good host, the Duke of Norfolks man! and how? and how? a hem, grasse and hay! wee are not yet mortall; lets liue till we die, and be merry; and ther's an end.

Enter HOST (BLAGUE).

Blague. Ha, my Castilian dialogues! and art thou in breath stil, boy? Miller, doth the match hold? Smith, I see by thy
[C1v] eyes thou hast bin reading little Geneua print: but wend we merrily to the forrest, to steale some of the kings Deere. Ile meet you at the time appointed: away, I haue Knights and Colonells at my house, & must tend the Hungarions. If we be scard in the forrest, weele meete in the Church-porch at Enfield; ist Correspondent?

Banks. Tis well; but how, if any of vs should be taken?

---

37. *M[aister]*] *Mr.* Q6, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.* *Master* Haz., Walk., Brooke-McIl.
39. *Smug*] *Smu g* Q1(F)(C²)(H).
40. *John*] *Iº* Q1(F)(C²)(H). *Io* Q1(W).
good neighboure] *good, neighbour* Haz.
41. *not a narrow*] *narrow a* conj. by Daniel. *not ne'er a* Hop.
42. *will*] *may* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
44-45. *of the George*] *at the George* Q1, Q3, Man., Brooke, McIl.
48. *mortall;*] *mortall'* Q1(F)(C²)(H). *mortall,* Q1(W).
lets] *let us* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
52. *little*] *a little* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
56. *scard*] *scatter'd* Dod.

Smug. He shall haue ransome, by the Lord.

Blague. Tush, the knaue keepers are my bosonians & my pensioners. Nine a clocke! be valiant, my little Gogmagogs; Ile fence with all the Iustices in Hartford shire. Ile haue a Bucke til I die; Ile slay a Doe while I liue; hold your bow straight & steady. I serue the good duke of Norfolke.

Smug. O rare! who, ho, ho, boy!

Sir John. Peace, neighbor Smug. You see this is a Boore, a Boore of the country, an illiterate Boore, and yet the Cittizen of good fellowes: come, lets prouide; a hem, Grasse and hay! wee are not yet all mortall; weel liue till we die, and be merry, and theres an end. Come, Smug!

Smug. Good night, Waltham—who, ho, ho, boy! [*Exeunt.*

[SCENE II. *The George Inn.*]

Enter the Knights and Gentlemen [*and the Ladies*] *from breakfast againe.*

Sir Rich. Nor I for thee, Clare, not of this.
What? hast thou fed me all this while with shalles?
And com'st to tell me now, thou lik'st it not?

Sir Ar. I doe not hold thy offer competent;

---

59. *Smug*] *Smi* Q1-Q3, W.P. and others.
the Lord] *my Sword* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
60. *knaue*] *knaues* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
bosonians] *bonasosis* Q4-Q6. *bona socias* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
64. No S.D.] *Exit* supp. by Man.
66. *is a*] *i a* Q1(W). *is a* omit. Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
68. *a hem*] *a hen* QQ, Reed, Scott, corr. by Dod.
71. *Good*] *God* Q1-Q3.

Scene ii] no division QQ, Dod., Col., Haz. *Fünfte Scene* Tieck. *Scene iv* Tyr. *Act II, Scene i* Hop.* *Scene ii* W.P. and others.

S.D. *Enter the Knights and Gentlemen*] *Enter Sir Arthur Clare, Sir Richard Mountchensey* Reed, Scott. *and the Ladies* add. by Man.

Nor doe I like th' assurance of thy land,
The title is so brangled with thy debts.
Sir Rich. Too good for thee; and, knight, thou knowest it well,
I fawnd not on thee for thy goods, not I;
Twas thine owne motion; that thy wife doth know.
L. Clare. Husband, it was so; he lies not in that.
Sir Ar. Hold thy chat, queane.
Sir Rich. To which I hearkned willingly, and the rather,
Because I was perswaded it proceeded
From loue thou bor'st to me and to my boy;
And gau'st him free accesse vnto thy house,
Where he hath not behaude him to thy childe,
But as befits a gentleman to doe:
[C2r] Nor is my poore distressed state so low,
That Ile shut vp my doores, I warrant thee.
[*Sir Ar.*] Let it suffice, Mountchensey, I mislike it;
Nor thinke thy sonne a match fit for my childe.
[*Sir Rich.*] I tell thee, Clare, his blood is good and cleere
As the best drop that panteth in thy veines:
But for this maide, thy faire and vertuous childe,
She is no more disparagd by thy basenes
Then the most orient and the pretious iewell,
Which still retaines his lustre and his beauty,
Although a slaue were owner of the same.
Sir Ar. She is the last is left me to bestow,
And her I meane to dedicate to God.

---

5. *land*] *loue* Q1-Q3.
7. *Too*] *To* Q3. //
//*well*//]//*it*//Q5-Q6. //*thou*//Dod.
14. *bor'st*] *barest* Q6, Dod.
20. *Sir Ar.*] no prefix Q1-Q3.
22. *Sir Rich.*] no prefix Q1-Q3.
I] *To* Q1-Q3.
25. *no* omit. Q4-Q5.
26. *the pretious*] *most precious* Haz. *and precious* Hop.
28. *owner*] *the owner* Q3.

Sir Rich. You doe, sir?
Sir Ar. Sir, sir, I doe, she is mine owne.
Sir Rich. And pity she is so!
Damnation dog thee and thy wretched pelfe! [*Aside*
Sir Ar. Not thou, Mountchensey, shalt bestow my childe.
Sir Rich. Neither shalt thou bestow her where thou Mean'st.
Sir Ar. What wilt thou doe?
Sir Rich. No matter, let that bee;
I will doe that, perhaps, shall anger thee:
Thou hast wrongd my loue, and, by Gods blessed Angell,
Thou shalt well know it.
Sir Ar. Tut, braue not me.
Sir Rich. Braue thee, base Churle! were't not for
man-hood sake—
I say no more, but that there be some by
Whose blood is hotter then ours is,
Which being stird might make vs both repent
This foolish meeting. But, Harry Clare,
Although thy father haue abused my friendship,
Yet I loue thee, I doe, my noble boy,
I doe, yfaith.
L. Clare. I, doe, do!
Fill all the world with talke of vs, man, man;
I neuer lookt for better at your hands.

---

33. *Aside* printed as part of dialogue Q1-Q3.
35. *shalt*] *shouldst* QQ, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.,* W.P., Man.-Hop., McIl. *shall'st* Haz.
38. *Gods blessed*] *a blessed* Q4-Q6, Dod.
39. *well know*] *well-know* Q1(W).
Tut repeated Hop.
42. *blood*] *(heyday) blood* conj. by Hop.
43. *both*] *poth* Q5.
44. *Harry*] *Raph* Q1-Q2. *Ralph* Q3-Q5.
45. *haue*] *hath* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
48-50. *//do/man,man/hands//*] *//man,man/hands//* QQ. Prose Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Olip., McIl.

Fab. [*To Lady Clare*] I hop'd your great experience and
your yeeres
Would haue prou'de patience rather to your soule,
[C2v] Then with this frantique and vntamed passion
To whet their skeens; and, but for that
I hope their friendships are too well confirmd,
And their minds temperd with more kindly heat,
Then for their froward parents sore [distress]
That they should breake forth into publique brawles—
How ere the rough hand of th' vntoward world
(To the knights)
Hath moulded your proceedings in this matter,
Yet I am sure the first intent was loue:
Then since the first spring was so sweet and warme,
Let it die gently; ne're kill it with a scorne.
Ray. O thou base world, how leprous is that soule
That is once lim'd in that polluted mudde! *(Aside)*
Oh, sir Arthur, you've startled his free actiue spirits
With a too sharpe spur for his minde to beare.
Haue patience, sir; the remedy to woe *(To Sir Richard)*

---

51. *hop'd*] *hope* Q1-Q3.
53. *vntamed*] *untamëd* Olip.
54. *for* omit. Q1-Q3.
57. *froward*] *forward* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod., Col.-Haz., Hop.*
sore] *soares* Q1-Q3, W.P. and others. *frowardnesse* Q-4-Q6, Dod.-W.P.
distress conj. by J. Q. Adams.
59. *th'vntoward*] *the untoward* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
63. *a* omit. Haz.
64. *is*] *it* W.P.
65. *lim'd*] *limb'd* Q5.
that polluted] *thy polluted* Dod.
66. *spirits*] *spirit* Reed-Haz., Hop.,* Hop.
67. *a too sharpe*] *too sharp a* Dod.
68. S.D. omit. QQ, Dod.-Walk. *(To Sir R.)* Man. *(To his father)* Olip.

Is to leaue what of force we must forgoe.
Mill. And I must take a twelue moneths approbation,
That in meane time this sole and priuate life
At the yeares end may fashion me a wife:
But, sweet Mounchensey, ere this yeare be done,
Thou'st be a frier, if that I be a Nun.
And, father, ere yong Ierninghams Ile bee,
I will turne mad to spight both him and thee. *(Aside)*
Sir Ar. Wife, come, to horse, and, huswife, make you ready;
For, if I liue, I sweare by this good light,
Ile see you lodgde in Chesson house to night. [*Exeunt.*
Sir Rich. Raymond, away! Thou seest how matters fall.
Churle, hell consume thee, and thy pelfe, and all! [*Exit.*]
Fab. Now, Mounchensey, you see how matters fadge;
Your Milliscent must needes be made a Nun.
Well, sir, we are the men must plie this match:
Hold you your peace, and be a looker on,
And send her vnto Chesson—where he will,
Ile send mee fellowes of a handful hie
Into the Cloysters where the Nuns frequent,
Shall make them skip like Does about the Dale,

---

69. *what*] *that* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
of force we must] *we must of force* Q6, Dod.
71. *in*] *in the* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
sole] *soule* Q3.
77. S.D. *(To Millicent)* Olip.
79. *to night*] *this night* Q3.
Exeunt add. Q4. *Exeunt Sir Arthur, his Lady, and Milliscent* Olip.
81. *Exit* supp. by pres. ed.
82. *Mounchensey*] *M. Clare* Q1-Q5. *Mr. Clare* Q6, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.* *Master Clare* Haz. and others.
84. *plie*] *pile* Q3.
this] *the* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
85. *S.D. (To Raymond)* Olip.
86. *where*] *when* Haz., Walk., Hop., Olip.

And with the Lady prioresse of the house
[C3r] To play at leape-froge, naked in their smockes,
Vntill the merry wenches at their masse
Cry teehee weehee;
And tickling these mad lasses in their flanckes,
They'll sprawle, and squeke, and pinch their fellow Nunnes.
Be liuely, boyes, before the wench we lose,
Ile make the Abbas weare the Cannons hoose. [*Exeunt.*

[SCENE III. *The same.*]

Enter HARRY CLARE, FRANCKE IERNINGHAM, PETER FABELL, *and* MILLISCENT.

Harry. Spight now hath done her worst; sister, be patient.
Frank. Forewarnd poore Raymonds company! O heauen!
When the composure of weake frailtie meete
Vpon this mart of durt, O, then weake loue
Must in hir owne unhappines be silent,
And winck on all deformities.
Mill. Tis well:
Whers Raymond, brother? whers my deere Mounchensey?
Would wee might weepe together and then part;

---

90. *with*] *make* QQ, Dod.-Man., Olip., McIl.
91. Line ends with *play* Q1-Q3.
their smockes] *her smock* Dod., Haz.
91-97. Order of lines: 91, 94, 95, 92, 93, 96, 97, Hop.
95. *They'll* conj. by Daniel] *Shall* other eds.
97. *Exeunt*] *Exit Raymond* Olip.

Scene iii] no division QQ, Dod., Col., Haz. *Sechste Scene* Tieck.
S.D. *Enter*] *Re-enter* Tyr., Hop.* *Millicent returns with Frank* Olip.
2. *O*] *to* Q1-Q3.
3. *meete*] *meet(s)* Haz.
6. *on*] *at* Hop.

Our sighing parle would much ease my heart.
Fab. Sweete beautie, fould your sorrowes in the thought
Of future reconcilement: let your teares
Shew you a woman; but be no farther spent
Then from the eyes; for, sweete, experience sayes
That loue is firme thats flattered with delayes.
Mill. Alas, sir, thinke you I shall ere be his?
Fab. As sure as parting smiles on future blisse.
Yond comes my friend: see, he hath doted
So long vpon your beautie, that your want
Will with a pale retirement wast his blood;
For in true loue Musicke doth sweetly dwell:
Seuerd, theese lesse worlds beare within them hell.

Enter (RAYMOND) MOUNCHENSEY.

Ray. Harry and Francke, you are enioynd to waine
Your friendship from mee; we must part: the breath
[3v] Of all aduised corruption—pardon mee!
Faith, I must say so: you may thinke I loue you;
I breath not rougher spight—doth seuer vs.
[*Harry*]. Weele meete by stealth, sweet friend,—by stealth, you twaine;

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9. *Our*] *One* Haz.
11. *teares*] *teares;* Q1(W).
12. *be* omit. Haz.
farther] *further* Q4-Q6.
16. *parting*] *panting* Q1-Q3.
17. *Yond*] *Yonder* Q3.
21. S.D. *Enter (Raymond) Mounchensey*] *Raymond Mounchensey* W.P.-Man. *Re-enter Mounchensey* Olip.
22-24. *//waine/breath/mee//*] prose Q1-Q5.
22. *waine*] *wean* Scott, Col.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
24. *all*] *ill* Haz. *old* conj. by Daniel. *all-advised* Hop.
26. *doth* conj. by Daniel] *do* QQ, Reed-Tyr., Hop.,* W.P., Man.-Hop., McIl. *to* Haz., Walk., Olip.
Tho' . . . not, and tho' . . . us Dod.
27. *Harry* supp. by pres. ed.
meete by stealth] *meete by steale* Q1-Q3.
friend] *friends* Q6.

Kisses are sweetest got with strugling paine.
Frank. Our friendship dies not, Raymond.
Ray. Pardon mee:
I am busied; I haue lost my faculties,
And buried them in Milliscents cleere eyes.
Mill. Alas, sweete Loue, what shall become of me?
I must to Chesson to the Nunry,
I shall nere see thee more.
Ray. How, sweete?
Ile be thy votary, weele often meete:
This kisse diuides vs, and breathes soft adiew,—
This be a double charme to keepe both true.
(Kisses her again.)
Fab. Haue done: your fathers may chance spie your parting.
Refuse not you by any meanes, good sweetnes,
To goe vnto the Nunnery; farre from hence
Must wee beget your loues sweete happines.
You shall not stay there long; your harder bed
Shall be more soft when Nun and maide are dead.

Enter BILBO.

Ray. Now, sirra, what's the matter?
Bil. Mary, you must to horse presently; that villanous old gowty churle, Sir Arthur Clare, longs till he bee at the Nunry.
Harry. How, sir?

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28. *with*] *by* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
33. *Nunry*] *Nunerie* Q4, all other eds. except Brooke.
35. *Ile*] *I will* Hop.
36. S.D. *(Kisses her)* Olip.
37. *S.D. (Kisses her again)* Man.
39. *not you*] *you not* Q5-Q6, Dod.
40. *vnto*] *into* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
farre] *for* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
44. *Ray.*] *Y. Cla.* Man.
46. *Arthur*] *Richard* Q1-Q6, Dod., corr. by Reed.
47. *Nunry*] *Nunnery* Q6, all other eds. except Brooke.

[*Bil.*] O, I cry you mercy, he is your father, sir, indeed; but I am sure that theres lesse affinitie betwixt your two natures then there is betweene a broker and a cutpurse.

Ray. Bring my gelding, sirra.

Bil. Well, nothing greeues me, but for the poore wench; she must now cry *vale* to Lobster pies, hartichokes, and all such meates of mortalitie; poore gentlewoman, the signe must not be *in virgo* any longer with her, and that me grieues full well.

Poor Milliscent
[1r] Must pray and repent:
O fatalle wonder!
Sheele now be no fatter,
Loue must not come at her,
Yet she shall be keept vnder. [*Exit.*

Frank. Farwell, deere Raymond.

Harry. Friend, adew.

Mill. Deere sweete,
No ioy enioyes my hearte till wee next meete. [*Exeunt.*

Fab. Well, Raymond, now the tide of discontent
Beats in thy face; but, er't be long, the wind
Shall turne the flood. Wee must to Waltham abby,
And as faire Milliscent in Cheston liues,
A most vnwilling Nun, so thou shalt there

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49. [*Bil.*] add. Q6.
sir omit. Q3, Reed, Scott.
52. *Bring my*] *Bring me my* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
sirra] *sir* Hop.
Ray.] *Y. Cla.* Man.
57. *full well* Q1(F)(C²)(H). *fall well* Q1(W), Q2-Q3. *farewell* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
58. S.D. *singing* Olip.
65. *No*] *Now* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.
wee next] *next we* Hop.*
Exeunt] *Exeunt Frank, Harry, and Millicent* Hop. *Exeunt Young Clare and Millicent* Olip.

Become a beardles Nouice; to what end,
Let time and future accidents declare:
Tast thou my slights, thy loue ile onely share.
Ray. Turne frier? Come, my good Counseller, lets goe,
Yet that disguise will hardly shrowd my woe. [*Exeunt.*

[ACT III.

SCENE I. *Cheston Priory.*]

Enter the PRIORESSE OF CHESTON, *with a Nun or two,*
SIR ARTHUR CLARE, SIR RAPH IERNINGHAM, HENRY
and FRANCKE, *the* LADY,
and BILBO, *with*
MILLISENT.

L. Clare. Madam,
The loue vnto this holy sisterhood,
And our confirmd opinion of your zeale
Hath truely wonne vs to bestow our Childe
Rather on this then any neighbouring Cell.
Pri. Ihesus, daughter, Maries childe,
Holy matron, woman milde,
For thee a masse shall still be sayd,
Euery sister drop a bead;
And those againe succeeding them
For you shall sing a *Requiem*.
Frank. The wench is gone, Harry; she is no more a woman of this world: marke her well, shee lookes like a Nun already. What thinkst on her? *(Aside)*
[C4v] *Harry.* By my faith, her face comes handsomly to't. But peace, lets heare the rest. *(Aside)*

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72. *future*] *further* Q6. *farther* Dod.

Act III, Scene i] no division QQ, Dod., Col., Haz. *Siebente Scene* Tieck. *Scene v* Tyr. *Act II, Scene ii* Hop.*
S.D. *Henry*] *Harry* Q6, Reed-Scott.
11. *sing*] *riug* Q1. *ring* Q2.
15-16. Prose] *//to't/rest//* QQ, Dod.-Haz., Olip.

Sir Ar. Madam, for a twelvemonths approbation,
Wee meane to make this triall of our childe.
Your care and our deere blessing in meane time
Wee pray may prosper this intended worke.
Pri. May your happy soule be blithe,
That so truely pay your tithe:
He who many children gaue,
Tis fit that he one child should haue.
Then, faire virgin, heare my spell,
For I must your duty tell.
Mill. Good men and true, stand together, and heare your charge. *(Aside)*
Pri. First, a mornings take your booke,
The glasse wherein your selfe must looke;
Your young thoughts, so proud and iolly,
Must be turnd to motions holy;
For your buske, attires, and toyes
Haue your thoughts on heauenly ioyes;
And for all your follies past
You must do penance, pray, and fast.
Bil. Let her take heed of fasting, and if euer she hurt her selfe with praying, Ile nere trust beast. *(Aside)*
Mill. This goes hard, berladye! *(Aside)*
Pri. You shall ring the sacring bell,
Keepe your howers, and toll your knell,
Rise at midnight to your mattens,
Read your Psalter, sing your latins.
And when your blood shall kindle pleasure,

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18. *this*] *the* Q5-Q6, Dod.
21. *happy* omit. Q5-Q6 Dod.
blithe] *blite* Q2.
23. *who*] *that* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
27-28. Prose] *//together/charge//* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
39. *berladye*] *by'r lady* Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk.
40. *sacring*] *sauing* Q1.
41. *toll*] *tell* Q1-Q6, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.,* Brooke, McIl.

Scourge your selfe in plenteous measure.
Mill. Worse and worse, by Saint Mary. *(Aside)*
Frank. Sirra Hal, how does she hold hir countenance? Wel, goe thy wayes, if euer thou proue a Nun, Ile build an Abby. *(Aside)*
Harry. She may be a Nun; but if euer shee prooue an Anchoresse, Ile dig her graue with my nailes. *(Aside)*
[D1r] *Frank.* To her againe, mother! *(Aside)*
Harry. Hold thine owne, wench! *(Aside)*
Pri. You must read the mornings masse,
You must creepe vnto the Crosse,
Put cold ashes on your head,
Haue a haire cloth for your bed.
Bil. She had rather haue a man in her bed. *(Aside)*
Pri. Bid your beads, and tell your needes,
Your holy Auies, and your Creedes;
Holy maide, this must be done,
Yf you meane to liue a Nun.
Mill. The holy maide will be no Nun. *(Aside)*
Sir Ar. Madam, we haue some busines of import,
And must be gone.
Wilt please you take my wife into your closet,
Who further will acquaint you with my mind;
And so, good madam, for this time adiew. [*Exeunt women.*
Sir Ar. (Continuing) Well now, Francke Ierningham, how saiest thou?

47-49. Prose] *//countenance/Abbey//* Olip.
48. *thou*] *you* Walk., Olip.
54. *mornings*] *morning* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
56. *your*] *you* Q6.
59. *Bid*] *Bind* Q1-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* corr. by W.P.
67. *further*] *farther* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
68. *Exeunt women*] *Exeunt women and Sir Arthur* Reed-Haz., Hop.,* Man.
69. Prefix: *Sir Ar.* pres. ed.] *Sir Ra.* QQ.
Francke Ierningham] *Frank Clare* Q1-Q5, corr. Q6.

To be breefe,—
What wilt thou say for all this, if we two,
Thy father and my selfe, can bring about,
That we conuert this Nun to be a wife,
And thou the husband to this pretty Nun?
How then, my lad? ha, Francke, it may be done.
Harry. I, now it workes. *(Aside)*
Frank. O God, sir, you amaze mee at your words;
Thinke with your selfe, sir, what a thing it were
To cause a recluse to remoue her vow:
A maymed, contrite, and repentant soule,
Euer mortified with fasting and with prayer,
Whose thoughts, euen as hir eyes, are fixd on heauen,
To drawe a virgin, thus deuour'd with zeale,
Backe to the world: O impious deede!
Nor by the Canon Law can it be done
Without a dispensation from the Church;
Besides, she is so prone vnto this life,
As sheele euen shreeke to heare a husband namde.
Bil. I, a poore innocent shee! Well, heres no knauery; hee
[11v] flowts the old fooles to their teeth. *(Aside)*
Sir Ralph. Boy, I am glad to heare
Thou mak'st such scruple of that conscience;
And in a man so young as is your selfe,
I promise you tis very seldome seene.
But Franke, this is a tricke, a meere deuise,
A sleight plotted betwixt her father and my selfe,

69-70. *//thou/breefe//*] prose Q1-Q5.
72. *Thy*] *Her* Q6 and other eds.
77. *words* omit. Col. *speech* conj. by Tyr., Hop.*
79. *remoue*] *renounce* Dod.-Scott.
80. *maymed*] *sainted* Haz.
83. *deuour'd*] *devout* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
89-90. Prose] *//knavery/teeth//* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
92. *that*] *thy* Haz.
95. *is* omit. Q2.

To thrust Mounchenseys nose besides the cushion;
That, being thus debard of all accesse,
Time yet may worke him from her thoughts,
And giue thee ample scope to thy desires.
Bil. A plague on you both for a couple of Iewes! *(Aside)*
Harry. How now, Franke, what say you to that? *(Aside)*
Frank. Let me alone, I warrant thee.— *(Aside)*
Sir, assurde that this motion doth proceede
From your most kinde and fatherly affection,
I do dispose my liking to your pleasure:
But for it is a matter of such moment
As holy marriage, I must craue thus much,
To haue some conference with my ghostly father,
Frier Hildersham, here by, at Waltham Abby,
To be absolude of things that it is fit
None only but my confessor should know.
Sir Ralph. With all my heart: he is a reuerend man;
And to morrow morning wee will meet all at the Abby,
Where by th' opinion of that reuerend man
Wee will proceede; I like it passing well.
Till then we part, boy; I, thinke of it; farewell!
A parents care no mortall tongue can tell. [*Exeunt.*

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97. *besides*] *beside* Col.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.
98. *thus* omit. Hop.
debard] *depard* Q4.
103. S.D. *To Harry* Col., Haz., Man. *To H. Clare* Tyr., Hop.*
104. W.P. and Man. place *Sir* on separate line.
assurde] *assumed* Hop.
113-114. Prose in QQ, Dod., Walk., McIl.
113. *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* Q1-Q5, corr. Q6.
he is a] *hee's a* Q2-Q4.
115. *th' opinion*] *th'opnion* Q1-Q4. *the th'opinion* Q5. *the opinion* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
118. *Exeunt* omit. Q6, Dod.

[SCENE II. *Before the Priory Gate.*]

Enter SIR ARTHUR CLARE, *and* RAYMOND MOUNCHENSEY, *like a Frier.*

Sir Ar. Holy yong Nouice, I haue told you now
My full intent, and doe refer the rest
To your professed secrecy and care:
And see,
Our serious speech hath stolne vpon the way,
12r] That we are come vnto the Abby gate.
Because I know Mountchensey is a foxe,
That craftily doth ouerlooke my doings,
Ile not be seene, not I. Tush, I haue done:
I had a daughter, but shee's now a Nun.
Farewell, deere sonne, farewell. [*Exit.*

Ray. Fare you well: —I, you haue done!
Your daughter, sir, shall not be long a Nun.
O my rare Tutor! neuer mortall braine
Plotted out such a masse of policie;
And my deere bosome is so great with laughter,
Begot by his simplicity and error,
My soule is fallen in labour with her ioy.
O my true friends, Franke Ierningham and Clare,
Did you now know but how this iest takes fire—
That good sir Arthur, thinking me a nouice,
Hath euen powrd himselfe into my bosome,
O, you would vent your spleenes with tickling mirth!

Scene ii] *Achte Scene* Tieck. *Scene iv* Tyr. *Act II, Scene iii* Hop.*
10. *shee's*] *she is* Dod.
11. *sonne*] *onne* Q2. *one* Q3.
15. *masse*] *plot* Q4-Q5, Reed-Tyr., Hop.* *piece* Q6, Dod. *mesh* Haz.
18. *in* omit. Q2.
19. *true* omit. Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
20. *now*] *but* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
22. *Hath*] *Had* W.P.-Man., Olip.

But, Raymond, peace, and haue an eye about,
For feare perhaps some of the Nuns looke out.
Peace and charity within,
Neuer touch't with deadly sin;
I cast my holy water pure
On this wall and on this doore,
That from euill shall defend,
And keepe you from the vgly fiend:
Euill spirit, by night nor day,
Shall approach or come this way;
Elfe nor Fary, by this grace,
Day nor night shall haunt this place.
Holy maidens! [*Knocke.*
[*Answere within.*] Who's that which knocks? ha, who's there?
Ray. Gentle Nun, here is a Frier.

Enter NUN.

Nun. A Frier without? now Christ vs saue!
Holy man, what wouldst thou haue?
Ray. Holy mayde, I hither come
From Frier and father Hildersome,
By the fauour and the grace
[D2v] Of the Prioresse of this place,
Amongst you all to visit one
That's come for approbation;

26-35. Not set in Q1-Q4.
28. *my* omit. Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
pure] *poore* Q1-Q5.
32. *spirit*] *spright* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
nor] *or* Hop.*
36. *Holy maidens* printed as S.D. in QQ, corr. by Dod.
Knocke] *knocks* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
37. *who's there*] *who is there* W.P.-Man., Hop., Olip.
38. *Enter Nun* correctly placed on page by Dod.
42. *Hildersome*] *Hildersham* Reed-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop., McIl.

Before she was as now you are,
The daughter of Sir Arthur Clare,
But since she now became a Nun,
Call'd Milliscent of Edmunton.
Nun. Holy man, repose you there;
This newes Ile to our Abbas beare,
To tell her what a man is sent,
And your message and intent.
Ray. Benedicite.
Nun. Benedicite. [*Exit.*
Ray. Doe, my good plumpe wench; if all fall right,
Ile make your sister-hood one lesse by night.
Now happy fortune speede this merry drift,
I like a wench comes roundly to her shrift.

Enter LADY (CLARE *and*) MILLISCENT.

L. Clare. Haue Friers recourse then to the house of Nuns?
Mill. Madam, it is the order of this place,
When any virgin comes for approbation,—
Lest that for feare or such sinister practise
Shee should be forcde to vndergoe this vaile,
Which should proceed from conscience and deuotion,—
A visitor is sent from Waltham house,
To take the true confession of the maide.
L. Clare. Is that the order? I commend it well:
You to your shrift, Ile backe vnto the cell. [*Exit.*
Ray. Life of my soule! bright Angel!

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52. *our*] *the* Hop.*
53. *her* omit. Q1, Q2, Q4-Q6, Reed-Tyr., Hop.*
S.D. after line 60: *Enter Lady (Clare and) Milliscent*] *Enter Lady, Milliscent* Q1, Q6, Brooke. *Enter Lady Milliscent* Q2-Q3. *Enter Lady and Milliscent* Q4-Q5, Dod.-Col., Haz.-Man. *Clare* supp. by Tyr. *Enter Dorcas and Millisent* Hop.* *Dorcas* supp. by Hop., Olip., McIl.
64. *Lest*] *Least* Q3, Q5.
or such] *of some* Q3. *such* omit. Walk., Olip.

Mill. What meanes the Frier?
Ray. O Milliscent, tis I.
Mill. My heart misgiues me; I should know that voyce.
You? who are you? The holy virgin blesse me!
Tell me your name: you shall, ere you confesse me.
Ray. Mountchensey, thy true friend.
Mill. My Raymond, my deere heart!
[D3r] Sweete life, giue leaue to my distracted soule,
To wake a little from this swoone of ioy.
By what meanes camst thou to assume this shape?
Ray. By meanes of Peter Fabell, my kind Tutor,
Who in the habite of Frier Hildersham,
Franke Ierninghams old friend and confessor,
[Helped me to act the part of priestly nouice,]
Plotted by Franke, by Fabell and my selfe,
And so deliuered to Sir Arthur Clare,
Who brought me heere vnto the Abby gate,
To be his Nun-made daughters visitor.
Mill. You are all sweete traytors to my poore old father.
O my deere life! I was a dream't to night
That, as I was a praying in mine Psalter,
There came a spirit vnto me as I kneeld,
And by his strong perswasions tempted me
To leaue this Nunry; and me thought
He came in the most glorious Angell shape,
That mortall eye did euer looke vpon.
Ha, thou art sure that spirit, for theres no forme

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84. Line supp. by Brooke.
85. *Fabell*] *Harry* W.P.
88. *Nun-made*] *Nun-maid* Q6, Dod.
89. *all* omit. Hop.
90. *a dream't*] *a dreaming* Dod. *a dreamed* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
91. *a* omit. Q2-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
mine] *my* Q3, Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Hop., Olip.
92. *vnto*] *to* Hop.*
94. *Nunry*] *Nunnery* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.

Is in mine eye so glorious as thine owne.
Ray. O thou Idolatresse, that dost this worship
To him whose likenes is but praise of thee!
Thou bright vnsetting star, which through this vaile,
For very enuy, mak'st the Sun looke pale!
Mill. Well, visitor, lest that perhaps my mother
Should thinke the Frier too strickt in his decrees,
I this confesse to my sweet ghostly father:
If chast pure loue be sin, I must confesse,
I haue offended three yeares now with thee.
Ray. But doe you yet repent you of the same?
Mill. Yfaith, I cannot.
Ray. Nor will I absolue thee
Of that sweete sin, though it be venial;
Yet haue the pennance of a thousand kisses,
And I enioyne you to this pilgrimage:
That in the euening you bestow your selfe
Heere in the walke neere to the willow ground,
[D3v] Where Ile be ready both with men and horse
To waite your comming, and conuey you hence
Vnto a lodge I haue in Enfield chase.
No more replie, if that you yeeld consent,
I see more eyes vpon our stay are bent.
Mill. Sweete life, farewell! Tis done: let that suffice;
What my tongue failes, I send thee by mine eyes. [*Exit.*

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98. *eye*] *eyes* Hop.*
103. *lest*] *least* Q5.
108. *yet* omit. Hop.
115. *men*] *man* Hop.
121. *mine*] *my* Hop.
S.D. after 121: *Enter Fabell, (Harry) Clare, and (Frank) Ierningham*] *Fabell* omit. Reed, Scott. *Young Clare* Reed-Col., Haz. *Harry Clare* Tyr., Hop.,* Hop.-McIl. *Frank Jerningham* Hop.-McIl.

Enter FABELL, (HARRY) CLARE, *and* (FRANK) IERNINGHAM.

Frank. Now, Visitor, how does this new made Nun?
Harry. Come, come, how does she, noble Capouchin?
Ray. She may be poore in spirit, but for the flesh,
Tis fatte and plumpe, boyes. Ah, rogues, there is
A company of girles would turne you all Friers.
Fab. But how, Mountchensey? how, lad, for the wench?
Ray. Sound, lads, yfaith; I thanke my holy habit,
I haue confest her, and the Lady Prioresse
Hath giuen me ghostly counsell with hir blessing.
And how say yee, boyes,
If I be chose the weekely visitor?
Harry. Z'blood, sheel haue nere a Nun vnbagd to sing masse then.
Frank. The Abbat of Waltham will haue as many Children to put to nurse as he has calues in the Marsh.
Ray. Well, to be breefe, the Nun will soone at night turne tippit; if I can but deuise to quit her cleanly of the Nunry, she is mine owne.
Fab. But, Sirra Raymond,
What newes of Peter Fabel at the house?
Ray. Tush, hees the onely man;
A Necromancer and a Coniurer
That workes for yong Mountchensey altogether;

124-126. Two lines *//boyes/Friers//* QQ, Dod.-Scott, corr. by Col.
126. *you all Friers*] *you Friers all* conj. by W.P.
128. *Sound*] *Sounds* Q4. *Zounds* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Man., Hop.
128-130. Prose Q1-Q5.
133. *Z'blood*] *Blood* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
135. *Waltham*] *Waltham house* Q3.
138. *tippit*] *lippit* QQ, Dod.-Scott, Tyr., Hop.,* corr. by Col.
can omit. Q3.
Nunry] *Nunnery* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
140-141. Prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., corr. by W.P.
142-147. Prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., Walk., Olip., corr. by W.P.
142. *hees*] *he is* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

And if it be not for Fryer Benedicke,
That he can crosse him by his learned skill,
The Wench is gone;
Fabell will fetch her out by very magicke.
Fab. Stands the winde there, boy? keepe them in that key,
[4r] The wench is ours before to-morrow day.
Well, Hal and Franke, as ye are gentlemen,
Sticke to vs close this once! You know your fathers
Haue men and horse lie ready still at Chesson,
To watch the coast be cleere, to scowt about,
& haue an eye vnto Mountchenseys walks:
Therfore you two may houer thereabouts,
And no man will suspect you for the matter;
Be ready but to take her at our hands,
Leaue vs to scamble for hir getting out.
Frank. Z'bloud, if al Herford-shire were at our heeles,
Weele carry her away in spight of them.
Harry. But whither, Raymond?
Ray. To Brians vpper lodge in Enfield Chase;
He is mine honest Friend and a tall keeper;
Ile send my man vnto him presently

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146. *him by* omit. Q3.
148. Prose Col.-Haz., Hop.*
S.D. *Enter Fabel* Reed, Scott.
149-150. Prose Dod.-Scott.
151. *Hal* Brooke] *Raph* Q1-Q5. *Harry* Q6 and others.
151-159. Prose QQ, Dod.-Scott, corr. by Col.
155. *Mountchenseys*] *Mountchensey* Q1-Q2, Q4.
walks] *walke* Q3.
157. *will* omit. Hop.
158. *our*] *your* Q3.
159. *scamble*] *scramble* Dod., Hop.*
160-161. Prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* corr. by W.P.
160. *Z'bloud*] *Blood* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
162. *whither*] *whether* Q3.
163-166. Prose QQ, Dod.-Scott, corr. by Col.
164. *a* omit. Hop.

T' acquant him with your comminge and intent.
Fab. Be breefe and secret.
Ray. Soon at night remember
You bring your horses to the willow ground.
Frank. Tis done; no more!
Harry. We will not faile the hower.
[*Ray.*] My life and fortune now lies in your power.
Fab. About our busines! Raymond, lets away!
Thinke of your hower; it drawes well of the day. [*Exeunt.*]

[ACT IV.

SCENE I. *Enfield Chase.*]

Enter BLAGUE, BANKS, SMUG, *and* SIR IOHN.

Blague. Come, yee Hungarian pilchers, we are once more come vnder the *zona torrida* of the forrest. Lets be resolute, lets flie to and againe; and if the deuill come, weele put him to his Interrogatories, and not budge a foote. What? s'foote, ile put fire into you, yee shall all three serue the good Duke of Norfolke.

Smug. Mine host, my bully, my pretious consull, my noble Holefernes, I haue bin drunke i' thy house twenty times and

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170. Given to Clare in QQ and by all eds. except Man. and pr. ed.
lies] *lie* Col.-Haz., Hop.*
172. *well of*] *well off* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
Exeunt] *Exit* Q1-Q5, corr. Q6.

Act IV, Scene i] no division QQ, Dod.-Scott, Col.-Haz. *Neunte Scene* Tieck. *Scene vii* Tyr. *Act III, Scene i* Hop.*
3. *flie to*] *flie too* Q4-Q5.
and if the] *& the* Q4-Q5. *and the* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
put] *but* Q3.
4. *s'foote*] *foote* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
8. *thy*] *th* Q3.

ten, all's one for that: I was last night in the third heauens, my braine was poore, it had yest in 't; but now I am a man of action; is't not so, lad?

Banks. Why, now thou hast two of the liberall sciences about thee, wit and reason, thou maist serue the Duke of Europe.

Smug. I will serue the Duke of Christendom, and doe him more credit in his celler then all the plate in his buttery; is't not so, lad?

[D4v]

Sir John. Mine host and Smug, stand there; Banks, you and your horse keepe together; but lie close, shew no trickes, for feare of the keeper. If we be scard, weele meete in the Church-porch at Enfeild.

Smug. Content, sir Iohn.

Banks. Smug, dost not thou remember the tree thou felst out of last night?

Smug. Tush, and't had bin as high as the Abby, I should nere haue hurt my selfe; I haue fallen into the river, coming home from Waltham, and scapt drowning.

Sir John. Come, seuer; feare no sprits! Weele haue a Bucke presently; we haue watched later then this for a Doe, mine Host.

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9. *that: I*] *that: but I* Hop.
   heauens] *heaven* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
10. *it had*] *i't had* Q1-Q3, Q5.
12. *Banks*] *Bil.* Q1-Q3. *Ban.* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., and other eds.
16. *so, lad* omit. Q3.
19. *in*] *at* Q3.
22. *not* omit. Hop.
   felst] *fellest* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.* *fel'st* Walk.
24. *Smug* omit. Q3.
   as] *so* Hop.*
   the] *an* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
25. *I* omit. Q4.
27. *feare*] *eare* Q1.
   sprits] *sprites* Q2. *spirits* Q3-Q6, Dod.-Man., Hop., Olip.
   Weele] *Wee'le* Q2. *We'll* Dod., Scott.

Blague. Thou speakst as true as veluet.
Sir John. Why then, come! Grasse and hay, &c. [*Exeunt.*

Enter (HARRY) CLARE, (FRANK) IERNINGHAM, *and* MILLISCENT.

Harry. Franke Ierningham!
Frank. Speake softly, rogue; how now?
Harry. S'foot, we shall lose our way, it's so darke; wherabouts are we?
Frank. Why, man, at Potters gate; the way lies right: harke! the clocke strikes at Enfeild; whats the houre?
Harry. Ten, the bell sayes.
Frank. A lies in's throate, it was but eight when we set out of Chesson. Sir Iohn and his Sexton are at ale to night, the clocke runs at random.
Harry. Nay, as sure as thou liu'st, the villanous vicar is abroad in the chase this darke night: the stone Priest steales more venison then halfe the country.
Frank. Milliscent, how dost thou?
Mill. Sir, very well.
I would to God we were at Brians lodge.
Harry. We shall anon; z'ounds, harke! What meanes this noyse?
Frank. Stay, I heare horsemen.
[E1r] *Harry.* I heare footmen too.
Frank. Nay, then I haue it; we haue bin discouerd,
And we are followed by our fathers men.
Mill. Brother and friend, alas, what shall we doe?
Harry. Sister, speake softly, or we are decride.

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31. After this line Olip. begins a new scene.
S.D. *Enter (Harry) Clare, (Frank) Ierningham, and Milliscent*] *Young Clare* Col., Haz. *Harry Clare* Tyr., Hop.* *Harry Clare and Frank Jerningham* Hop., McIl.
36. *Potters gate*] *Poiters-gate* Q2, Q4-Q6. *Porter's gate* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
40. *at ale*] *at their ale* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Hop.
47. *z'ounds*] *nounes* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
Prose] *//harke/noyse//* QQ, Dod.-Haz., corr. by W.P.

They are hard vpon vs, what so ere they be;
Shadow your selfe behind this brake of ferne,
Weele get into the wood, and let them passe.

Enter SIR IOHN, BLAGUE, SMUG, *and* BANKS, *one after another.*

Sir John. Grasse and hay! wee are all mortall; the keepers abroad, and ther's an end.

Banks. Sir Iohn!

Sir John. Neighbour Bankes, what newes?

Banks. Z'wounds, Sir Iohn, the keepers are abroad; I was hard by 'am.

Sir John. Grasse and hay! wher's mine host Blague?

Blague. Here, Metrapolitane. The philistines are vpon vs, be silent; let vs serue the good Duke of Norfolke. But where is Smug.

Smug. Here; a poxe on yee all, dogs; I haue kild the greatest Bucke in Brians walke. Shift for your selues, all the keepers are vp; lets meete in Enfield church porch; away, we are all taken els. [*Exeunt.*

Enter BRIAN, *with* [RAPH], *his man, and his hound.*

Brian. Raph, hearst thou any stirring?

Raph. I heard one speake here hard by, in the bottome. Peace, Maister, speake low; zownes, if I did not heare a bow goe off, and the Bucke bray, I neuer heard deere in my life.

Brian. When went your fellows out into their walks?

Raph. An hower agoe.

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55. *Exeunt* supp. by Man.
S.D. *Enter Sir Iohn*] *Exeunt Syr Iohn* Q2. *Each enters in time to speak* Olip.
60. *Z'wounds*] *Z'ounds* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
66. *yee*] *you* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
69. In S.D. after this line *Raph* supp. by W.P.
72. *zownes*] *nownes* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
74. *out* omit. Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

Brian. S'life, is there stealers abroad, and they cannot heare
Of them: where the deuill are my men to night?
Sirra, goe vp the wind towards Buckleyes lodge.
Ile cast about the bottome with my hound,
And I will meete thee vnder Cony ocke.
[E1v] *Raph.* I will, Sir. [*Exit.*
Brian. How now? by the masse, my hound stayes vpon something; harke, harke, Bowman, harke, harke, there!
Mill. Brother, Franke Ierningham, brother Clare!
Brian. Peace; thats a womans voyce! Stand! who's there? Stand, or Ile shoote.
Mill. O Lord! hold your hands, I meane no harme, sir.
Brian. Speake, who are you?
Mill. I am a maid, sir; who? M[aister] Brian?
Brian. The very same; sure, I should know her voyce; Mistris Milliscent?
Mill. I, it is I, sir.
Brian. God for his passion! what make you here alone?
I lookd for you at my lodge an hower agoe.

76-80. *//heare/night/lodge/hound/ocke//*] prose Q1-Q5, Dod., Hop.,* Hop. *//them/night/lodge/hound/oak//* Reed-Haz., Olip.
76. This line follows line 73 in Q3.
S'life] *Life* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
they] *wee* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
78. *the*] *and* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
towards] *toward* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz.
79-80. *//hound/ocke//*] prose Q1-Q5.
81. *Exit* omit. Man., Brooke, McIl.
82-83. Prose] *//something/there//* W.P.-Man., Olip.
85. *thats*] *that's* Q6, Scott, Tyr., Hop.* *that* Dod., Reed, Col., Haz.
85-86. *//there/shoote//*] prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Brooke, Hop., McIl.
86. S.D. *Enter Milliscent* Man.
89. *M*[*aister*]] *M.* Q1-Q4, W.P., Man.
90-101. Prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., corr. by W.P.

What meanes your company to leaue you thus?
Who brought you hither?
Mill. My brother, Sir, and M[aister] Ierningham,
Who, hearing folks about vs in the Chase,
Feard it had bin sir Ralph and my father
Who had pursude vs, thus dispearsed our selues,
Till they were past vs.
Brian. But where be they?
Mill. They be not farre off, here about the groue.

Enter (HARRY) CLARE *and* (FRANK) IERNINGHAM.

Harry. Be not afraid, man, I heard Brians tongue,
Thats certain.
Frank. Call softly for your sister.
Harry. Milliscent!
Mill. I, brother, heere.
Brian. M[aister] Clare!
Harry. I told you it was Brian.
Brian. Whoes that? M[aister] Ierningham: you are a couple of hot-shots; does a man commit his wench to you, to put her to grasse at this time of night?
Frank. We heard a noyse about vs in the chase,

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95. *your*] *you* Q5.
97. *M*[*aister*]] *M.* Q1-Q4, W.P., Man.
99. *Feard*] *Fearing* Olip.
Ralph] *Arthur* Q1-Q5. *Ralph and my father*] *Arthur my father* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
100. *thus*] *and thus* Col.-Haz., Hop.*
103. S.D. following: *(Harry) Clare*] *Young Clare* Reed-Col., Haz. *Harry Clare* Tyr., Hop.,* Hop.-McIl.
(Frank) Ierningham] *Frank Jerningham* Hop.-McIl.
104-105. *//tongue/certain//*] prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Hop., corr. by W.P.
104. *heard*] *hear* Hop.*
109-111. *M*[*aister*]] *M.* Q1-Q4, W.P., Man.
111. *Whoes*] *Who is* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
114. *vs*] *her* Q1-Q3, Brooke. *here* W.P.-Man., Hop.-McIl.

And fearing that our fathers had pursude vs,
Seuerd our selues.
Harry. Brian, how hapd'st thou on her?
Brian. Seeking for stealers are abroad to night,
[E2r] My hound staied on her, and so found her out.
Harry. They were these stealers that affrighted vs;
I was hard vpon them, when they horst their Deere,
And I perceiue they tooke me for a keeper.
Brian. Which way tooke they?
Frank. Towards Enfeild.
Brian. A plague vpon 't, thats that damned Priest, &
Blague of the George, he that serues the good Duke of Norfolke.

A noyse within: Follow, follow, follow.

Harry. Peace, thats my fathers voyce.
Brian. Z'ownds, you suspected them, and now they are heere indeed.
Mill. Alas, what shall we doe?
Brian. If you goe to the lodge, you are surely taken;
Strike downe the wood to Enfeild presently,
And if Mounchensey come, Ile send him t'yee.
Let mee alone to bussle with your fathers.
I warrant you that I will keepe them play

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117. *hapd'st*] *hapned'st* Q2, Q4-Q5. *happenedst* Dod. *happedst* Haz.
118. *stealers are*] *stealers that are* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
125. *that*] *the* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
127. Olip. assigns *Follow, follow, etc.* to Sir Arthur.
129. *Z'ownds*] *Nownes* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
you] *you have* Q5-Q6, Dod.
134. *t'yee*] *to you* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
135. *bussle*] *bustle* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
fathers] *father* Q1-Q5, Brooke, McIl.
136. *them*] *him* Q3.

Till you haue quit the chase; away, away!

[*Exeunt all but Brian.*]

Whoes there?

Enter the KNIGHTS.

Sir Ralph. In the kings name, pursue the Rauisher!

Brian. Stand, or Ile shoote.

Sir Ar. Whoes there?

Brian. I am the keeper that doe charge you stand;
You haue stollen my Deere.

Sir Ar. We stolne thy Deere? we do pursue a thiefe.

Brian. You are arrant theeues, and ye haue stolne my Deere.

Sir Ralph. We are Knights; sir Arthur Clare, and sir Raph Ierningham.

Brian. The more your shame, that Knights should bee such thieues.

Sir Ar. Who, or what art thou?

Brian. My name is Brian, keeper of this walke.

Sir Ar. O Brian, a villain!
Thou hast receiued my daughter to thy lodge.

Brian. You haue stolne the best Deere in my walke to night. My Deere!

[E2v] *Sir Ar.* My daughter!
Stop not my way!

Brian. What make you in my walke? you haue stolne the best Bucke in my walke to night.

Sir Ar. My daughter!

Brian. My Deere!

Sir Ralph. Where is Mountchensey?

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137. S.D. Haz. supp. *Exeunt,* and W.P. add. *all but Brian.* Olip. reads *The three young people hurry off.*
138. S.D. *Knights*] *Knight* Q2.
142-143. *//stand/Deere//*] prose Hop.,* Man.
147. Prefix: *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
153. Prefix: *Sir Ar.*] *Sir Rap.* Q1-Q5, W.P., Walk., Olip., McIl.
159-160. Prose] *//walke/night//* W.P.-Man., Hop.-McIl.

Brian. Wheres my Bucke?
Sir Ar. I will complaine me of thee to the King.
Brian. Ile complaine vnto the King you spoile his game:
Tis strange that men of your account and calling
Will offer it!
I tell you true, Sir Arthur and Sir Raph,
That none but you haue onely spoild my game.
Sir Ar. I charge you, stop vs not!
Brian. I charge you both ye get out of my ground!
Is this a time for such as you,
Men of your place and of your grauity,
To be abroad a theeuing? tis a shame;
And, afore God, if I had shot at you,
I had serude you well enough. [*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE II. *Enfield Churchyard.*]

Enter BANKS *the Miller, wet on his legs.*

Banks. S'foote, heeres a darke night indeed! I thinke I haue bin in fifteene ditches betweene this and the forrest. Soft, heers Enfeilde Church: I am so wet with climing ouer into

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164. *Wheres*] *Where is* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.* *Where's* Walk., Olip., McIl.
166-170. *//game/calling/it/Raph/game//*] prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* corr. by W.P.
168. *offer*] *offet* Q3.
172-177. *//ground/you/grauity/shame/you/enough//*] prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* corr. by W.P.
172. *ye* omit. Q2, Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
174. *Men of your place and of your grauity*] *Men of place and of your grauity* Q1-Q2, Q4-Q6, Reed-Haz., Hop.,* Man. *Men of your place and grauity* Q3.
177. *Exeunt* omit. Q1-Q5, supp. Q6.

Scene ii] *Zehnte Scene* Tieck. *Scene viii* Tyr. *Act III, Scene ii* Hop.* *Scene iii* Olip.
1. *S'foote*] *Foote* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
darke] *blacke* Q3.

an orchard for to steale some filberts. Well, heere Ile sit in the Church porch, and wait for the rest of my consort.

Enter the SEXTON.

Sex. Heeres a sky as blacke as Lucifer. God blesse vs! Heere was goodman Theophilus buried; hee was the best Nut-craker that euer dwelt in Enfeild. Well, tis 9. a clock, tis time to ring curfew. Lord blesse vs, what a white thing is that in the Church porch! O Lorde, my legges are too weake for my body, my haire is too stiffe for my night-cap, my heart failes; this is the ghost of Theophilus. O Lord, it followes me! I cannot say my prayers, and one would giue me a thousand pound. Good spirit, I haue bowld and drunke and followed the hounds with you a thousand times, though I haue not the spirit now to deale with you. O Lord!

E r] *Enter* (SIR JOHN, *the*) PRIEST.

Sir John. Grasse and hey, we are all mortall. Who's there?

Sex. We are grasse and hay indeede; I know you to bee Master Parson by your phrase.

Sir John. Sexton!

Sex. I, Sir.

Sir John. For mortalities sake, What's the matter?

Sex. O Lord, I am a man of another element; Maister Theophilus Ghost is in the Church porch. There was a

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5. *consort*] *consorts* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
S.D. *Enter the Sexton*] *Enter Sexton* Q5-Q6, Reed-Haz., Hop.* *Enter Sexton and Priest* Dod.
8. *Enfeild*] *England* Col.-Haz., Hop.*
9. *a* omit. Q3.
14. *a* omit. Q3.
15. *you*] *thee* Dod.
17. S.D. *Enter (Sir John, the) Priest*] *Enter Sir John* Haz., Hop.*
25. *a*] *an* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

hundred Cats, all fire, dancing here euen now, and they are clombe vp to the top of the steeple; ile not into the bellfree for a world.

Sir John. O good Salomon; I haue bin about a deede of darknes to night: O Lord, I saw fifteen spirits in the forrest, like white bulles; if I lye, I am an arrant theefe: mortalitie haunts vs—grasse and hay! the deuills at our heeles, and lets hence to the parsonage. [*Exeunt.*

The MILLER (BANKS) *comes out very softly.*

Banks. What noise was that? tis the watch, sure; that villanous vnlucky rogue, Smug, is taine, vpon my life; and then all our villeny comes out; I heard one cry, sure.

Enter HOST BLAGUE.

Blague. If I go steale any more veneson, I am a Paradox: s'foot, I can scarce beare the sinne of my flesh in the day, tis so heauy; if I turne not honest, and serue the good Duke of Norfolke, as true mareterraneum skinker should doe, let me neuer looke higher then the element of a Constable.

Banks. By the Lord, there are some watchmen; I heare them name Maister Constable; I would to God my Mill were an

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26. *here* omit. Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
are omit. Walk., Hop.-McIl.
29. *good*] *goodman* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
31. *arrant*] *errant* Reed-Tyr., Hop.*
33. *parsonage*] *parsonages* Q1-Q3.
36. *villeny*] *knauerie* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
37. *s'foot*] *foot* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
38. *scarce*] *scarcely* Walk.
40. *as true*] *as a true* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
skinker] *skinner* Q6, Dod.
42. Prefix: *Milla* Q1-Q2, Q4.
Lord] *masse* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
43. *to God* omit. Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
an] *at* Q5.

Eunuch, and wanted her stones, so I were hence.

Blague. Who's there?

Banks. Tis the Constable, by this light; Ile steale hence, and if I can meete mine host Blague, ile telle him how Smug is
E3v] taine, and will him to looke to himselfe. [*Exit.*

Blague. What the deuill is that white thing? this same is a Church-yard, and I haue heard that ghosts and villenous goblins haue beene seene here.

Enter SEXTON *and* (SIR JOHN, *the*) PRIEST.

Sir John. Grasse and hay! O, that I could coniure! wee saw a spirite here in the Church-yeard; and in the fallow field ther's the deuill with a mans body vpon his backe in a white sheet.

Sex. It may be a womans body, Sir Iohn.

Sir John. If shee be a woman, the sheets damne her; Lord blesse vs, what a night of mortalitie is this!

Blague. Priest!

Sir John. Mine host!

Blague. Did you not see a spirit all in white crosse you at the stile?

Sex. O no, mine host; but there sate one in the porch; I haue not breath ynough left to blesse me from the Deuill.

Blague. Whoes that?

Sir John. The Sexton, almost frighted out of his wits. Did you see Banks or Smug?

Blague. No, they are gone to Waltham, sure: I would faine hence; come, lets to my house: Ile nere serue the duke of

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44. *her*] *his* Hop.*
47. *him* omit. Hop.
57-58. Prose] *//her/this//* QQ, Dod.-Haz.
57. *Sir John*] *Pri.* QQ, Dod.-Col.
Lord omit. Q4-Q6, Dod.
63. *Sex.*] *Priest* Q1-Q3.
66-67. Prose] *//wits/Smug//* QQ, Dod.-Scott.
67. *Banks*] *Banke* Q2. *Bank* Q3.

Norfolk in this fashion againe whilst I breath. If the deuill be amongst vs, tis time to hoist saile, and cry roomer. Keepe together; Sexton, thou art secret, what? lets be comfortable one to another.

Sir John. We are all mortall, mine host.

Blague. True; and Ile serue God in the night hereafter afore the Duke of Norfolke. [*Exeunt.*

[ACT V.

SCENE I. *An Inn opposite the George, Waltham.*]

Enter SIR ARTHUR CLARE *(attended by* BILBO*) and* SIR RALPH IERNINGHAM, *trussing their points as new vp.*

Sir Ralph. Good morrow, gentle knight.
A happy day after your short nights rest.

Sir Ar. Ha, ha, sir Raph, stirring so soone indeede?

[E4r] Birlady, sir, rest would haue done right well;
Our riding late last night has made mee drowsie.
Goe to, goe to, those dayes are gone with vs.

Sir Ralph. Sir Arthur, Sir Arthur, care go with those dayes,
Let 'am euen goe together, let 'am goe!

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71. *tis*] *it's* Col.-Haz., Hop.*
73. *one*] *on* Q3.
76. *Exeunt* omit. Q6, Dod.

Act V, Scene i] no division QQ, Dod.-Scott, Col., Haz. *Elfte Scene* Tieck. *Scene ix* Tyr. *Act III, Scene iii* Hop.*
S.D. *Arthur . . . Ralph*] *Raph . . . Arthur* Q1-Q5, corr. Q6.
1. Prefix: *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* Man.
Good] *God* Q3.
3. Prefix: *Sir Ar.*] *Sir Raph* Man.
Raph] *Arthur* Man.
7. Prefix: *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* Man.
Sir Arthur, Sir Arthur] *Sir Raph, Sir Raph* Man.

[*Sir Ar.*] Tis time, yfaith, that wee were in our graues,
When Children leaue obedience to their parents,
When there's no feare of God, no care, no dutie.
Well, well, nay, nay, it shall not doe, it shall not;
No, Mountchensey, thou'st heare on't, thou shalt,
Thou shalt, yfaith!
Ile hang thy Son, if there be law in England.
A mans Child rauisht from a Nunry!
This is rare!
Well, well, ther's one gone for Frier Hildersam.
Sir Ralph. Nay, gentle Knight, do not vexe thus,
It will but hurt your health.
You cannot greeue more then I doe, but to what end?
But harke you, Sir Arthur, I was about to say somthing—it makes no matter. But hearke you in your eare: the Frier's a knaue; but God forgiue me, a man cannot tel neither; s'foot, I am so out of patience, I know not what to say.
Sir Ar. Ther's one went for the Frier an hower agoe. Comes

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9. Prefix: [*Sir Ar.*] pres. ed.
12. *nay, nay*] *nay* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
13. *thou'st*] *thou'lt* W.P., Walk., Hop., Olip.
13-18. *//shalt/yfaith/England/Nunry/rare/Hildersam/*] *//shalt/England/Nunry/Hildersam//* Q1-Q6, Dod.-Scott, Tyr. *//shalt/i'faith/England/Nunnery/Hildersham//* Col., Haz., Hop.*
16. *Nunry*] *Nunnery* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
18. *Well, well*] *Well* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
for] *to* Hop.
19-20. *//thus/health//*] prose Col.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
19. Prefix: *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* QQ, and all eds. except Man.
20. *your health*] *your heate* Q1(W), Q2, Q4-Q5, Reed-Haz., Hop.* *your heart* Q3. *you heat* Q6. *you, heat* Dod.
22. *Arthur*] *Raph* QQ, and all eds. except Man.
25. *so* omit. Hop.*
27. Prefix: *Sir Ar.*] *Sir Raph* QQ, and all eds. except Man.

he not yet? s'foot, if I do find knauery vnders cowle, ile tickle him, ile firke him. Here, here, hee's here, hee's here. Good morrow, Frier; good morrow, gentle Frier.

Enter HILDERSHAM.

Sir Ralph. Good morrow, father Hildersham, good morrow.
Hild. Good morrow, reuerend Knights, vnto you both.
Sir Ar. Father, how now? you heare how matters go;
I am vndone, my Childe is cast away.
You did your best, at least I thinke the best;
But we are all crost; flately, all is dasht.
Hild. Alas, good knights, how might the matter be?
Let me vnderstand your greefe for Charity.
Sir Ar. Who does not vnderstand my griefes? Alas, alas!
And yet yee do not! Will the Church permit
[E4v] A Nun in approbation of her habit
To be rauished?
Hild. A holy woman? benedicite!
Now God forfend that any should presume
To touch the sister of a holy house.
Sir Ar. Ihesus deliuer mee!
Sir Ralph. Why, Millisent, the daughter of this Knight
Is out of Chesson taken the last night.
Hild. Was that faire maiden late become a Nun?
Sir Ralph. Was she, quotha? Knauery, knauery, knauery!
I smell it, I smell it, yfaith! is the wind in that dore? is it euen so? doost thou aske me that now?

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28. *s'foot*] *foote* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz.
30. Olip. has Hildersham enter after line 28.
31. Prefix: *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* QQ, and all eds. except Man.
39. *griefes*] *grief* Q3, Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
40. *yee*] *you* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
43-45. *//benedicite/presume/house//*] prose Q1-Q5.
48. *the*] *this* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
50. *Knauery, knauery, knauery*] *knauery, knauery, knauery, knauery* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

Hild. It is the first time that I ere heard of it.
Sir Ar. That's very strange.
Sir Ralph. Why, tell me, Frier, tell mee; thou are counted a holy man; doe not play the hypocrite with me, nor beare with mee. I cannot dissemble; did I ought but by thy own consent? by thy allowance? nay, further, by thy warrant?
Hild. Why Reuerend knight—
Sir Ralph. Vnreuerend Frier—
Hild. Nay, then giue me leaue, sir, to depart in quiet; I had hopd you had sent for mee to some other end.
Sir Ar. Nay, stay, good Frier; if any thing hath hapd
About this matter in thy loue to vs,
That thy strickt order cannot iustifie,
Admit it be so, we will couer it.
Take no care, man:
Disclayme not yet thy counsell and aduise,
The wisest man that is may be orereacht.
Hild. Sir Arthur, by my order and my faith,
I know not what you meane.
Sir Ralph. By your order and your faith?
This is most strange of all: Why, tell mee, Frier,
Are not you Confessor to my Son Francke?

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53. *that* omit. Hop.
I ere] *ere I* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
56. *nor*] *now* conj. by Col., accept. by Hop.*
57. *ought*] *aught* Reed-Haz., Hop.,* Walk.
58. *further*] *farther* Dod.-Tyr., Hop.*
60. *Vnreuerend*] *Vnreuerent* Q6.
61-62. Prose] verse *//quiet/end//* Reed-Haz.
66. *be*] *to be* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
68. *thy*] *my* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
70. *my faith*] *by my faith* Q6, Dod.
72-74. *//faith/Frier/Francke*] *//all/Francke//* QQ, Dod. Prose Reed-Haz., Hop.*
72. Prefix: *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* Q1-Q3.
your faith] *by your faith* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
73. *of all* omit. Q5-Q6, Dod.

Hild. Yes, that I am.
Sir Ralph. And did not this good knight here and my selfe
Confesse with you, being his ghostly Father,
To deale with him about th' unbanded marriage
[F1r] Betwixt him and that faire young Millisent?
Hild. I neuer heard of any match intended.
Sir Ar. Did not we breake our minds that very time,
That our deuice of making her a Nun
Was but a colour and a very plotte
To put by young Mountchensey? Ist not true?
Hild. The more I striue to know what you should meane,
The lesse I vnderstand you.
Sir Ralph. Did not you tell vs still how Peter Fabell
At length would crosse vs, if we tooke not heed?
Hild. I haue heard of one that is a great magician,
But hees about the Vniuersity.
Sir Ralph. Did not you send your nouice Benedic
To perswade the girle to leaue Mountchenseys loue,
To crosse that Peter Fabell in his art,
And to that purpose made him visitor?
Hild. I neuer sent my nouice from the house,
Nor haue we made our visitation yet.
Sir Ar. Neuer sent him? Nay, did he not goe?
And did not I direct him to the house,
And conferre with him by the way? and did he not

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78. *unbanded*] *intended* W.P.
82. *of*] *in* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
85-88. *//meane/you/Fabell/heed//*] prose Q1-Q5, corr. Q6.
87. *not you*] *you not* Man.
91. *not you*] *you not* Q4-Q6, Hop.*
95. *the*] *my* Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
97-101. *//goe/house/not/you/hands//*] prose QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* corr. by W.P.
98. *not I*] *I not* Man.
99. *he not*] *not he* Q4-Q5, Reed-Haz., Hop.*

Tell me what charge he had receiued from you,
Word by word, as I requested at your hands?
Hild. That you shall know; hee came along with me,
And stayes without. Come hither, Benedic!

Enter BENEDIC.

Yong Benedic, were you ere sent by me
To Chesson Nunnery for a visitor?
Ben. Neuer, sir, truely.
Sir Ralph. Stranger then all the rest!
Sir Ar. Did not I direct you to the house? Confer with you
From Waltham Abby vnto Chesson wall?
Ben. I neuer saw you, sir, before this hower.
Sir Ar. The deuill thou didst not! Hoe, Chamberlen!

[*Enter* CHAMBERLAINE.]

Cham. Anon, anon.
Sir Ar. Call mine host Blague hither!
Cham. I will send one ouer to see if he be vp; I thinke he bee scarce stirring yet.
[1v] *Sir Ar.* Why, knaue, didst thou not tell me an hower ago mine host was vp?
Cham. I, sir, my Master's vp.

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100. *charge*] *charges* Hop.
102-105. *//me/Benedic/me/visitor//*] prose Q1-Q5, corr. Q6.
106. *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* Q1-Q5.
107-108. *//with you/wall//*] *//house/Abbey/wall//* QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
107. *Sir Ar.*] *Sir Rap.* Q1-Q5.
110. No S.D. after this line Q1-Q3. Q4 and others supp. *Enter Chamberlaine.*
113. *Cham.*] *Cla.* Q1-Q3.
one] *once* Q2.
ouer] *ouer Sir* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
115. *thou not*] *not thou* Dod.-Scott.

Sir Ar. You knaue, is a vp, and is a not vp? Dost thou mocke mee?

Cham. I, sir, my M[aster] is vp; but I think M[aster] Blague indeed be not stirring.

Sir Ar. Why, who's thy Master? is not the Master of the house thy Master?

Cham. Yes, sir; but M[aster] Blague dwells ouer the way.

Sir Ar. Is not this the George? Before God, theres some villany in this.

Cham. Sfoote, our signes remooud; this is strange!

Enter BLAGUE, *trussing his points.*

Blague. Chamberlen, speake vp to the new lodgings, bid Nell looke well to the bakt meats. [*Exit.*] How now, my old Jennets, bauke my house, my castle? lie in Waltham all night, and not vnder the Canopie of

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118-119. Prose] *//not vp/mee//* QQ, Dod.-Haz.
118. *a . . . a*] *he . . . he* Reed-Haz., Hop.*
120. *M[aster] . . . M[aster]*] *Master . . . Master* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
121. *indeed* omit. Dod.
124. *M[aster]*] *Master* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
125. *God*] *Ioue* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
127. *Sfoote*] *Foote* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
No S.D.] *Exeunt* W.P., Walk., Brooke, Hop., McIl. *Exit* Man. QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.* agree with pres. ed. W.P. and later eds. begin new scene here.
128-130. Prose] *//lodgings/meats/horse//* QQ, Dod.-Haz., corr. by W.P.
128. *speake*] *speed* Haz.
129. *meats*] *meat* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
S.D. *Exit* supp. pres. ed. *Enter Sir Arthur and Sir Raph* W.P. and later eds.
130-132. Prose] *//horse/not/house* QQ, Dod.-Scott. *//horse/and/house//* Col.-Haz., corr. by W.P.
130. *Jennets*] *Ienerts* QQ, Dod.-Tyr. *jennet's* Haz. *jennets* Hop., McIl. *Tennents* conj. Gayley. *tenants* Olip.

your host Blagues house?

Sir Ar. Mine host, mine host, we lay all night at the George in Waltham; but whether the George be your fee-simple or no, tis a doubtfull question: looke vpon your signe.

Blague. Body of Saint George, this is mine ouerthwart neighbour hath done this to seduce my blind customers. Ile tickle his Catastrophe for this; if I doe not indite him at next assisses for Burglary, let me die of the yellowes; for I see tis no boote in these dayes to serue the good Duke of Norfolke. The villanous world is turnd manger; one Iade deceiues another, and your Ostler playes his part commonly for the fourth share. Haue wee Comedies in hand, you whoreson, villanous male London letcher?

Sir Ar. Mine host, we haue had the moylingst night of it that euer we had in our liues.

Blague. Ist certaine?

Sir Ralph. We haue bin in the Forrest all night almost.

[2r] *Blague.* S'foot, how did I misse you? hart, I was a stealing a

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bauke] *banke* QQ, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.* *back* Haz., corr. by W.P.

house] *horse* QQ, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.* *my house* [*is*] *my castle* Haz.

135. *doubtfull* omit. Q2, Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

136. *Saint*] *St.* Q6.

mine] *my* Hop.*

136-137. *neighbour hath*] *neighbour* [*he*] *hath* Hop.

137-138. *to . . . this* omit. Q5-Q6, Dod.

138-139. *at next*] *at the next* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Hop.

140. *tis*] *it is* Hop.*

141. *manger*] *mangy* Haz.

142. *and*] *and and* Q5.

144. *whoreson*] *whorsome* Hop.*

letcher] *leether* Q5. *leather* Q6, Dod.

147. *Ist*] *is it* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

148. *Sir Ralph*] *Sir Ar.* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

149. *S'foot*] *Foot* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

a stealing a] *stealing of a* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.* *stealing a* Hop.

Bucke there.

Sir Ar. A plague on you; we were stayed for you.

Blague. Were you, my noble Romanes? Why, you shall share; the venison is a footing. *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus;* That is, theres a good breakfast prouided for a marriage thats in my house this morning.

Sir Ar. A marriage, mine host?

Blague. A coniunction copulative; a gallant match betweene your daughter and M. Raymond Mountchensey, young Iuuentus.

Sir Ar. How?

Blague. Tis firme, tis done. Weele shew you a president i'th ciuill law for't.

Sir Ralph. How! married?

Blague. Leaue trickes and admiration. Theres a cleanely paire of sheetes on the bed in the Orchard chamber, and they shall lie there. What? Ile doe it; Ile serue the good Duke of Norfolke.

Sir Ar. Thou shalt repent this, Blague.

Sir Ralph. If any law in England will make thee smart for this, expect it with all seuerity.

Blague. I renounce your defiance; if you parle so roughly, Ile barracade my gates against you. Stand faire, bully Priest;

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153. *Venus*] *venere* Q2, Q4-Q6.
154. *theres*] *there is* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
155. *thats*] *that is* Q3, Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
157-160. These lines omit. by Walk.
158. *M.*] *Mr.* Q6, omit. Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
159. *Iuuentus*] *Iuvents* Q6, Dod.
161-162. Prose] *//done/for't//* QQ, Dod.-Haz., corr. W.P.
161. *president*] *precedent* Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
i'th] *in the* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
165. *on the bed*] *in the bed* Q1-Q3, W.P.-McIl.
bed in the Orchard] *bed in Orchard* Q1. *bed on the Orchard* Q2.
166. *Ile serue*] *I serue* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Hop.

come off from the rereward! [*Enter* SIR JOHN.] What can you say now? Twas done in my house; I haue shelter i'th Court for't. D'yee see yon bay window? I serue the good duke of Norfolk, & tis his lodging. Storm, I care not, seruing the good Duke of Norfolk; (*To* SIR JOHN) thou art an actor in this, and thou shalt carry fire in thy face eternally.

Enter SMUG, (RAYMOND) MOUNTCHENSEY, HARRY CLARE, (FRANK JERNINGHAM) *and* MILLISCENT.

Smug. Fire, s'blood, theres no fire in England like your Trinidado sacke. Is any man heere humorous? We stole the venison, and weele iustifie it: say you now!

Blague. In good sooth, Smug, theres more sacke on the fire, Smug.

Smug. I do not take any exceptions against your sacke; but if youle lend mee a picke staffe, ile cudgle them all
I7v] hence, by this hand.

Blague. I say thou shalt in to the Celler.

Smug. S'foot, mine host, shalls not grapple? Pray, pray you; I could fight now for all the world like a Cockatrices ege; shals not serue the Duke of Norfolke? [*Exit.*

Blague. In, skipper, in!

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173. *Enter Sir John* Man. and pres. ed.
174. *i'th*] *in the* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
175. *D'yee see*] *Dee see* Q1. *Doe see* Q2. *Doe you see* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
yon] *your* Q1-Q2.
177. *Enter Smug* conj. by Olip.
179. To S.D. after 179 Man. adds *Frank Jerningham.* Hop. would add *Sir John.*
180. *s'blood*] *nouns* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
186. *youle*] *you* Haz.
picke] *pike* Q3-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
189. *Pray*] *Pray you* Q3, Reed-Haz., Hop.*
192. As S.D. here Olip. suggests: *Enter Milliscent, Raymond, and Harry, with Sir John, and Frank.*

Sir Ar. Sirra, hath young Mountchensey married your sister?
Harry. Tis Certaine, Sir; her's the priest that coupled them, the parties ioyned, and the honest witnesse that cride Amen.
Ray. Sir Arthur Clare, my new created Father, I beseech you, heare mee.
Sir Ar. Sir, Sir, you are a foolish boy; you haue done that you cannot answere; I dare be bould to ceaze her from you; for shee's a profest Nun.
Mill. With pardon, sir, that name is quite vndone;
This true-loue knot cancelles both maid and Nun.
When first you told me I should act that part,
How cold and bloody it crept ore my hart!
To Chesson with a smiling brow I went;
But yet, deere sir, it was to this intent,
That my sweete Raymond might find better meanes
To steale me thence. In breefe, disguisd he came,
Like Nouice to old father Hildersham;
His tutor here did act that cunning part,
And in our loue hath ioynd much wit to art.
Sir Ar. Is't euen so?
Mill. With pardon therfore wee intreat your smiles;
Loue thwarted turnes itselfe to thousand wiles.
Sir Ar. Young Maister Ierningham, were you an actor
In your owne loues abuse?
Frank. My thoughts, good sir,
Did labour seriously vnto this end,
To wrong my selfe, ere ide abuse my friend.
Blague. He speakes like a Batchelor of musicke, all in Numbers. Knights, if I had knowne you would haue let

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194. *her's*] *heere's* Q3.
197-198. Prose] *//Father/mee//* W.P.-Man., Olip., McIl.
200. *her*] *on her* Q5-Q6, Dod.
203. *true-loue*] *true love* Walk., Hop.-McIl.
213. *Is't*] *Is it* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
216-217. *//actor/abuse//*] prose Q1-Q5.

this couy of Partridges sit thus long vpon their knees vnder
[F3r] my signe post, I would haue spred my dore with old Couerlids.

Sir Ar. Well, sir, for this your signe was remoued, was it?

Blague. Faith, wee followed the directions of the deuill, Master Peter Fabell; and Smug, Lord blesse vs, could neuer stand vpright since.

Sir Ar. You, sir, twas you was his minister that married them?

Sir John. Sir, to proue my selfe an honest man, being that I was last night in the forrest stealing Venison—now, sir, to haue you stand my friend, if that matter should bee calld in question, I married your daughter to this worthy gentleman.

Sir Ar. I may chaunce to requite you, and make your necke crack for't.

Sir John. If you doe, I am as resolute as my Neighbour vicar of Waltham Abby; a hem, grasse and hay, wee are all mortall; lets liue till we be hangd, mine host, and be merry, and theres an end.

[*Enter* FABELL.]

Fab. Now, knights, I enter; now my part begins.
To end this differene, know, at first I knew
What you intended, ere your loue tooke flight
From old Mountchensey; you, sir Arthur Clare,
Were minded to haue married this sweete beauty
To yong Franke Ierningham; to crosse which match,
I usde some pretty sleights; but I protest

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223. *old* omit. Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
232. *that*] *the* Q4-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
233. *your*] *you* Q1.
237-240. Prose] *//my/a hem/mortall/host/end//* QQ, Dod.-Scott, corr. by Col.
240. S.D. *Enter Fabel*] no S.D. Q1-Q3. *Enter Fabian* Q4-Q5. Hop.,* Man., Hop., and Olip. add *Bilbo and Smug.*
246. *which*] *this* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*

Such as but sate vpon the skirts of Art;
No coniurations, nor such weighty spells
As tie the soule to their performancy.
Theese for his loue, who once was my deere puple,
Haue I effected. Now, mee thinks, tis strange
That you, being old in wisedome, should thus knit
Your forehead on this match, since reason failes;
No law can curbe the louers rash attempt;
Yeares, in resisting this, are sadly spent.
Smile, then, vpon your daughter and kind sonne,
And let our toyle to future ages proue,
The deuill of Edmonton did good in Loue.

[F3v] *Sir Ar.* Well, tis in vaine to crosse the prouidence:
Deere Sonne, I take thee vp into my hart;
Rise, daughter; this is a kind fathers part.

Blague. Why, Sir Iohn, send for Spindles noise presently: Ha, ert be night, Ile serue the good Duke of Norfolke.

Sir John. Grasse and hay, mine Host, lets liue till we die, and be mery, and thers an end.

Sir Ar. What, is breakfast ready, mine Host?

Blague. Tis, my little Hebrew.

Sir Ar. Sirra, ride strait to Chesson Nunry,
Fetch thence my Lady; the house, I know,
By this time misses their yong votary.
Come, knights, lets in!

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251. *once was*] *was once* Dod.-Scott.
252. *effected*] *affected* Q5-Q6.
260. *the*] *thee* Haz.
262. *this . . . part* given to Milliscent by Haz.
263. *Iohn*] *George* QQ, Dod.-Tyr., Hop.,* Olip., corr. by Haz. Brooke queries *St. George*. Olip. queries *Sir Iohn or Sir Arthur*. *St. George* McIl.
268. Prefix omit. Q3.
269. *Nunry*] *Nunrie* Q4-Q5. *nunnery* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Walk., Hop.-McIl.

Bil. I will to horse presentlye, sir—. A plague a my Lady, I shall misse a good breakfast—, *(aside)* Smug, how chaunce you cut so plaguely behind, Smug?

Smug. Stand away; ile founder you else.

Bil. Farewell, Smug, thou art in another element. [*Exit.*]

Smug. I will be by and by; I will be Saint George againe.

Sir Ar. Take heed the fellow do not hurt himselfe.

Sir Ralph. Did we not last night find two S. Georges here?

Fab. Yes, Knights, this martialist was one of them.

[4r] *Sir Ar.* Then thus conclude your night of meriment!

[*Exeunt Omnes.*

FINIS.

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273. *to*] *go to* Walk.
a my] *o my* Q4. *on my* Q5-Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.*
275. *cut*] [*are*] *cut* Man.
278. *Saint*] *Sir* Q1-Q3.
280. *S.*] *St.* Q4-Q5, Hop.,* Walk., Olip., McIl. *Saint* Q6, Dod.-Haz., Hop.
283. *Sir Ar.*] *Cla.* QQ, Dod.-Haz., Hop.,* Brooke-Hop. *Y. Cla.* W.P.-Man., Olip.

Table of Abbreviations and Symbols

Q1	1608	(Reading of all First Editions)
Q1(F)	1608	(First Edition in Folger Shakespeare Library)
Q1(H)	1608	(First Edition in Henry E. Huntington Library)
Q1(C^2)	1608	(First Edition in Library at Trinity College, Cambridge)
Q1(W)	1608	(First Edition in White Collection, Harvard University)
Q2	1612	(Second Edition)
Q3	1617	(Third Edition)
Q4	1626	(Fourth Edition)
Q5	1631	(Fifth Edition)
Q6	1655	(Sixth Edition)
QQ		(Reading of all Quartos)
Dod.	1744	(Dodsley's Collection)
Reed	1780	(Reed's Dodsley)
Scott	1810	(Scott's *The Ancient Drama*)
Tieck	1811	(Tieck's *Alt-englisches Theater*)
Col.	1825	(Collier's Dodsley)
Tyr.	1851	(Tyrrell's *Doubtful Plays*)
Haz.	1875	(Hazlitt's Dodsley)
W.P.	1884	(Warnke and Proescholdt's Edition)
Hop.*	1891	(Hopkinson's First Edition)
Walk.	1897	(Walker's Edition)
Hop.*	1899	(Hopkinson's Reprint of his First Edition)
Man.	1904	(Manly's edition in Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*)
Brooke	1908	(Brooke's *Shakespeare Apocrypha*)
Hop.	1914	(Hopkinson's Second Edition)
Olip.	1929	(Oliphant's *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists*)
McIl.	1934	(McIlwraith's *Five Elizabethan Comedies*)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Title Page

Maiesties Seruants, at the Globe, on the Banke-side: King James arrived in London on May 7, 1603, and ten days later issued an order taking the Chamberlain's Men under his own patronage, and bestowing upon them the new title, "The King's Men." The Globe, constructed partly out of the timber of the old Theatre, was built on the Bankside, the theatrical center of London, some time during the first few months of 1599.

This device, a masque with rings, seems to have been popular. I have found identical copies of it on the title pages of the following: *A Warning for Faire Women* (1599), printed by Valentine Sims for William Aspley (*Tudor Facsimile Text,* 1912); *Much Ado About Nothing* (1600), printed by Valentine Sims for Andrew Wise and William Aspley (*Shakespere Quarto Facsimiles,* London, 1886); *II Henry IV* (1600), printed by Valentine Sims for Andrew Wise and William Aspley (*Shakespere Quarto Facsimiles,* London, 1882); *The Ghost of Lucrece* (1600), printed by Valentine Sims (*The Ghost of Lucrece,* reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library, with an Introduction and Edited Text by Joseph Quincy Adams, New York and London, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937). This device does not appear in McKerrow's *Printers' and Publishers' Devices;* but his No. 379, used by Andrew Hart, Edinburgh printer (1587-1621), is identical except in minute though important details.

Henry Ballard: printer in London, 1597-1608. See McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers,* p. 16.

Arthur Iohnson: bookseller in London and Dublin, 1602-30; London, The Flower de Luce and Crown, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1602-21. See McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers,* p. 157.

signe of the white-horse in Paules Churchyard, ouer against the great North doore of Paules: McKerrow (*Dictionary of Printers,* p. 332) lists the White Horse as one of forty-eight shops in Paul's Churchyard, the center of the book-trade in London. He does not mention it as being Arthur Iohnson's shop.

The Prologue

4. *this murmuring breath:* the Elizabethan audience resembled our modern circus audience. What with the stage partly occupied by gulls, the pit filled with boisterous garlic-eaters known as "stinkards," the selling and consuming of gingerbread men and tobacco, and the presence of the prostitutes from the neighboring stews—the dramatist was indeed lenient to describe the noise and confusion as "murmuring breath."

5. *We ring this round with our inuoking spelles:* a double meaning is suggested: first, we encircle this theatre (Globe) which is round; second, the last half of the line shows, as Manly points out, that the author had in mind the magic circle used in sorcery. It is not unusual to find in the prologues and epilogues a reference to the shape of the theater. Cf. "*Old Fortunatus* (Rose, 1599), prol. 81: 'this small circumference'; *Warning for Faire Women* (?Curtain, 1599), prol. 83, 88: 'all this fair circuit . . . this round'; *Henry V* (Curtain or Globe, 1599), prol. 11: 'this cockpit . . . this wooden O'; *E. M. O.* (Globe, 1599), prol. 199, epil. 4406: 'this thronged round . . . this faire-fild Globe'; *Sejanus* (Globe, 1603), comm. v: 'the Globe's fair ring'; *Three English Brothers* (Curtain or Red Bull, 1607), epil. 'this round circumference.' On the other hand, *Whore of Babylon* (Fortune, 1607), prol. 1: 'The charms of Silence through this Square be throwne'" (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage,* II, 524, n. 4).

9. *Peter Fabell:* cf. Appendix I (The Induction) for Brewer's account of Fabell. He was no doubt a legendary character. Fuller (*Worthies,* II, 327) says:

> I shall probably offend the gravity of some to insert, and certainly the curiosity of others to omit him [Fabell]. Some make him a friar, others a lay gentleman, all a conceited [i.e., a worthy, ingenious] person, who with his many devises deceived the devil, who by grace may be resisted, not deceived by wit. . . . I hope I may say, without offence, that this Fabel was but a *fable,* supposed to live in the reigne of King Henry the Sixth.

10-11. *Whose fame hath still beene hitherto forgot*
By all the writers of this latter age.

But not for long after the printing of this play, it may be said, for its popularity is doubtless responsible for Brewer's pamphlet. Cf. Introduction, pp. 4-5 and 15-23.

19. *His monument remayneth to be seene:* J. Weever (*Antient Funeral Monuments,* p. 303) writes:

> Here [i.e., in Edmonton] lieth under a seemly tomb without inscription, the body of PETER FABELL (as the report goes) upon whom this fable was fathered, that he by his witty devices beguiled the devil: belike he was some ingenious conceited gentleman, who did use some sleighty tricks for his own disports. He lived and died in the reign of Henry VII, saith the book of his merry pranks.

Cf. Fuller, *Worthies,* II, 327, for a different date.

31. Manly notes that instances of similar occurrences are given in the *Faust Book* and the *Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon.*

32. *composition:* agreement, compact. Cf. *Welsh Emb.* (M. S. Text, 43, 1365-1366): ". . . I must surrender on promist composition."

33. This stage direction follows l. 32 in the old editions, and probably should be left there. The use of the imperative seems to point to a prompt copy, and prompt directions were often given an anticipatory position.

34. By this time the audience is quiet, and Fabell is revealed on "his restlesse couch," which stands on the inner stage.

36. *His chamber guarded with these sable slights:* "Ornamented with sable decorations" (W. P.). Manly thinks this is a more probable explanation than "protected by the dark devices of magic" (Walk. and Hop.); it is difficult to tell which is correct.

37-39. The chair which belonged to the Smith of Apolda also had the power to retain its occupant. Cf. W. J. Thoms, *Lays and Legends of Germany,* p. 160.

41. *sad Tragique show:* if this expression means anything, it would seem to allude to episodes not in the present version.

Induction

There is no division called *Induction* in the old editions; W. P. supplied the term; Tyr. labeled this section *Scene i.* Brooke omits the period at the end of the stage directions, but in this he is in error, as each of the four extant originals shows.

3-4. *My stiffned haire stands vpright on my head*
As doe the bristles of a porcupine.

Cf. *Hamlet,* Act I, scene v, ll. 19-20:

> And each particular hair to stand on end
> Like quills upon the fretful porpentine.

and also above (Introduction), pp. 79-80.

16. *this the houre my date expires:* the omission of the relative pronoun is not uncommon in Elizabethan literature; cf. Abbot, *A Shakespearean Grammar,* p. 461. Fabell had engaged the services of Coreb for a certain length of time, which has now expired. For these services, of course, he had promised his soul. Cf. pp. 88-89, above.

22-26. "Rather than so abruptly be carried to hell, Fabel will bear on his shoulders the whole globe of earth like Hercules, and at the same time endure the sufferings by which Prometheus was tormented" (W. P.). Manly called attention to this apparent misinterpretation of these lines. Cf. *Doctor Faustus* (Thoms, *Early English Prose Romances,* III, 196):

> Therefore know Faustus, that the damned have neither end nor time appointed, in the which they may hope to be released; for if there were any such hope that they by throwing one drop of water out of the sea in a day, until it were dry, or there were one heap of sand, as high as from the earth to the heavens, that a bird carrying away but one corn in a day, at the end of this so long labour, that yet they might hope at the last God would have mercy on them, they would be comforted.

The figure is a common one; Manly cites additional references supplied him by Professor Kittredge: "Kohler, *Germania,* VIII, 305; Mussafia, *id.,* IX, 457; Sprenger, *Zs. f. d. Phil.,* XXVIII, 71; Hartmann, *id.,* XXVIII, 563; and Bray, *Traditions of Devonshire,* II, 319." I may add that *Doctor Faustus* (Thoms), p. 292, yields a figure which may be used to support W. P.'s interpretation. It reads: "Ah! that I could carry the heavens upon my shoulders, so that there were time at last to quit me of this everlasting damnation."

27-29. Brewer does not record the scene in which Fabell signs the contract with his blood. Of course, it was the accepted belief that mortals followed this procedure in assigning their souls to the devil for such services as Coreb seems to have rendered Fabell.

31. *familiar sort:* in the usual form. Familiars always changed their shape when their period of servitude ended. Cf. *Witch of Ed.,* Act V, scene i, l. 461.

32. Cf. note to l. 16 above.

35-36. Cf. Appendix I, ll. 20-128.

40. Hop. is certainly in error when he writes: "Fabell leaves his chair and induces Coreb to occupy it." Fabell is lying on "his restlesse couch."

41. The imperative form of the verb in this stage direction seems to point to a prompt book.

42-59. This is one of the few famous speeches of the play. Editors have interpreted it differently. W. P. explain: "Immoderate desire of knowledge renders man contemptible to the powers and may even lead him down to hell." Walk. interprets: "O that this soul, so dear bought by the Redeemer, should by the pride of knowledge alone, wherein a man seems so contemptible in the eyes of the higher powers, lead him down to hell." Brooke explains: "Fabell laments that the soul should have to be sacrificed for the achievement of a power which when achieved is found to be relatively contemptible." Cf. *Doctor Faustus* (Thoms), p. 99: "Ah, woe is me, most miserable Faustus! How have I been deceived? Had I not had a desire to know too much, I had not been in this case." Q6 changed *meane* (l. 45) to *neare,* and Mr. P. A. Daniel thinks this reading should be adopted. Certainly it would make the sense of the passage clearer; *meane* (i.e., contemptible), however, makes sense and is probably the word used by the author. The ideas contained in the passage are more or less conventional. Cf. above (Introduction), pp. 86-88.

50-57. For a discussion of such figures of speech see Introduction, pp. 84-86.

60-69. In *Doctor Faustus* (Thoms), p. 238, appears a passage which may have suggested this binding of Coreb in his chair:

> Wherefore as the Turks sate at meat, Faustus shewed them a little apish play, for round about the privy chamber he sent forth flashing flames of fire, insomuch that the whole company forsook their meat and fled, except only the Great Turk himself; him Faustus charmed in such sort that he could neither rise nor fall, neither could any man pull him up.

62. *hollownes:* probably a quibble on "holiness." Cf. *Rav. Al.* (Grosart, IV, 190): "The Fryers plague is no holy Plague, but a hollowe plague. . . ."

64. *some Aqua-vitae:* cf. Introduction, p. 74.

70. Cf. l. 37.

77. *Liue and conuert all piety to euill:* cf. Appendix I, ll. 91-103. "Ile [i.e., Fabell] labor all the time I haue to liue for Hells aduantage: Ile beare more soules along with me to Hell then twenty of your cunningst Deuills shall."

79-80. *No time on earth like Phlegetontic flames*
Can haue perpetuall being.

The meaning of the passage is obscure. W. P. interpret: "As Phaeton perished in trying to take Phoebus' place, so Fabell will finally fail

in attempting to out-wit the Devil." This explanation, however, is not metrically acceptable. The present editor's emendation corrects the meter of the line.

Act I, Scene i

S.D. *safeguardes:* an outer garment worn while riding. It protected the under garments from the mud *(N.E.D.).* See *The Roaring Girl* (Pear., III, 155): *"Enter Mol in a freese Ierkin and a blacke saueguard."*

1. *Blague:* Walk. points out that this name, from the French *blague,* indicates the braggart nature of the Host. In *King Edward IV* a Mistress Blage appears as an innkeeper.

3. *Homer and Iliads of a lodging:* i.e., the very best lodging that can be had.

4. This is Blague's figurative manner of saying that the room is not constructed of ordinary materials, but of the best. The lumber sawed from the center (i.e., the heart) of a tree is the most desirable as well as the most expensive.

5-6. *my little wast of maiden-heads:* W. P. are certainly wrong in supposing this remark to be addressed to Harry. "Sir Arthur and Lady Clare have been welcomed, now is the turn of Milliscent" (Manly). There is an obvious pun on *wast.*

6-7. *I serue the good Duke of Norfolke:* this is Blague's characterization phrase. "The Duke was probably Thomas, second Duke of the Howard house, who opposed Wolsey and Cromwell" (Manly). But see Mary F. S. Herney, *Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel,* p. xxx: "Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was born 1536, attainted and beheaded June 2, 1572. There was no other Duke of Norfolk until Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, was restored as fifth Duke of Norfolk in 1660."

8. *God a mercie:* thank you.

10. *correspondent:* agreeable. See *N.E.D. Tartarian:* see Introduction, p. 74. Cf. also *Pilgrimage to Parnassus,* p. 42.

13-14. Cf. Act I, scene ii, ll. 5-6, and Act II, scene i, ll. 19-20.

15. *wil:* i.e., command.

16-17. *Hay, a poxe a these rushes:* references to the rushes which the Elizabethans used to cover their floors are common in the literature of that time.

18. *Saint Dennis:* for a good account of Saint Dennis, see *La Légende Dorée,* par Jacques De Voragine, trans. Gustave Brunet (Paris: Librairie De Chasles Grosselin, 1843), II, 182-188.

20. *I haue an excellent intellect to:* a modern equivalent of this expression is "I have a good mind to. . . ."

21. *now, when wast thou in the forrest:* the obvious implication is that Harry Clare has also been guilty of stealing deer, and possibly with the Host. The speech seems to suggest Prince Hal, Falstaff, and their coterie of thieves. It should be observed, however, that Harry resents the implication, and furthermore, that there is no further allusion to him as a poacher.

22. *messe of white-broth:* "The exact meaning is doubtful; 'white meat' is a general term including all sorts of dishes made with milk. For the general sense of the passage compare *I H. IV,* II. iv. 495 ff." (Manly). But Dekker illustrates the term in these passages:

A seruing man bringing a Capon and white-broth to the table, stumbled & let all fall to the ground. *Jests* (Gros., II, 261).

But wife (quoth he) why did you not cause the Nurse to boile you a capon, and make a messe of good white broath for you? *Bach. Ban.* (Gros., I, 181).

23. Presumably Harry makes his exit here; no further speeches are given to him, and certainly he was not present to hear the last of the scene.

27. *not yet apparent:* has not yet appeared. An obvious pun is intended on *knight-apparent.* Cf. *I Henry IV,* Act I, scene ii, l. 48: ". . . were it not here apparent that thou art heir apparent."

28-29. *top and top-gallant presently:* "Under full sail" (Manly). Evidently the Host, as he admits, knows his "sea-card."

30-31. *goe downe, and see breakfast be prouided:* this request is evidence that the opening scene of this act takes place upstairs.

32-33. *thy breath hath the force of a woman, it takes me downe:* the allusion is obscene.

33. *baser element:* lower floor. Cf. Act I, scene i, l. 4; Act IV, scene ii, ll. 24 and 41; also Introduction, p. 30.

36-37. *canvasadoes . . . interrogatories:* " 'Canvasadoes' is doubtless a burlesque form of 'canvass' (examination, inquiry)" (Manly). " 'Interrogatories': questions that need answering" (Hop.). For "canvasadoes," McIl. suggests "sudden or night attacks."

44. *assure:* to make sure for marriage, affiance, betroth, or engage *(N.E.D.).* But the purpose of this meeting was not to betroth but to seal the betrothal; the affiance had been made "two tedious winters" before this date.

55-61. "Clare first uses *crosses* in the sense of disappointment,

vexation; in order to avert Milliscent's attention, he then speaks of crosses in the proper sense of the word, and gives his whole speech such an obscure and unintelligible turn that Milliscent is right in exclaiming: 'O God, what meanes my father?'" (W. P.) Cf. also *Merchant of Venice,* Act V, scene i, ll. 30-32.

55-57. *. . . heere's one in Waltham,*
Another at the Abby, and the third
at Cheston. . . .

Cf. E. H. Sugden, *Topographical Dictionary,* p. 555: "WALTHAM, or WALTHAM CROSS: A village in Hertfordshire, 12 miles north of London, where Edward I erected one of the Elinor Crosses, which still happily remains. Just across the border of the county is Waltham Abbey or Waltham Holy Cross, so called from the black flint cross discovered miraculously on the top of the hill near by in the reign of Canute and deposited in the Abbey, where it attracted hosts of pilgrims." See *ibid.* for account of Cheston; also Weever, *Funeral Monuments,* p. 318:

Here sometime stood a little nunnery, I know not by whom founded, but thus it is confirmed in the catalogue of religious houses: "Henr. rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie, Aquitainie, et comes Angedauie, &c. Shestrehunt Monial totam terram dom. ten. cum pertinentiis suis que canonicis de cathele, &c. quos amoueri fecimus, dat. apud West. xi Aug. anno regni nostri xxiiii." This nunnery was valued in the exchequer to be yearly worth 27£ 6s. 8d.

61. *About those stony and hard hearted plots:* the meaning is not clear, but there seems to be a word-play on plots: *stony plots* (where the crosses are erected); *hard hearted plots* (our plans which must not be influenced by sentiment).

67. *more chargeable then Cane-tobacco:* more expensive than Cane-tobacco (i.e., tobacco in the form of cane) *(N.E.D.).* Cf. Harrington, *Epigrams,* IV, 34:

Then of tobacco he a pype doth lack
Of Trinidade in cane, in leaf, or ball.

Cf. also Dekker, *Guls H. B.* (Temple ed.), p. 63:

From thence you should blow yourself into the tobacco-ordinary . . . to be able to discuss whether your Cane or your Pudding be sweetest.

See also Nares, *Glossary,* I, 131, and II, 887.

68-69. *His hawkes devoure his fattest dogs, whilst simple,*
His leanest curres eate his hounds carrion.

Q1-Q3 read *eate him* instead of *eate his.* The *him,* of course, is a simple ethical dative.

The two lines taken together have been called the great crux of the play. Hazlitt was the first to suggest a change. He reads:

> His hawkes devour his fattest hogs, whilst Simple,
> His leanest cur, eats his hounds carrion.

W. P. explain: "Convinced that Mr. Hazlitt's alteration of the text does not hit the mark, and unable to proffer an emendation that would remove the difficulties of this puzzling passage once for all, we have left the reading of the originals unchanged." Walk. adopts Hazlitt's reading because it has "the advantage of giving a meaning, though an unsatisfactory one." Manly follows the original text, except for the *him,* as does Brooke, who says: "None of the suggested emendations improves the sense a whit, and it is at least possible that we have what the author wrote. If some satisfactory meaning for *simple* could be found, referring either to *hawkes* or *dogs,* all would be clear enough." To Hop. it seems that "an unnecessary difficulty" has been made of the passage. He would take *whilst simple* to mean *whilst foolishly.* Olip. rejects the emendations and retains the original reading. McIl. explains: "His hawks are given such food as his best dogs should have and his stray mongrels what would be fit for his best hounds," adding, "but the passage is probably corrupt." All the editors except Hop. readily admit that the passage is probably corrupt, and to me this probability becomes almost a certainty when I consider the many corruptions in the text. One complete line is omitted in the 1608 Quarto, and there are reasons for believing that others may have been lost. (Cf. Introduction, pp. 00.) It should be observed that the exit of Bilbo and Blague and the entrance of Sir Arthur, Harry, and Milliscent, both of which should precede l. 32 of Act I, scene ii, were dropped. In the pagination of the 1608 Quarto this exit should have come at the bottom of $B2^{v}$, and this entrance at the top of $B3^{r}$. Since l. 68, the first of the passage now under discussion, is the last line on $B1^{v}$, and since l. 69 is the first of $B2^{r}$, it seems indeed likely that here, also, something may have been dropped by the printer in the process of making up the pages. Cf. note to Act I, scene ii, l. 31.

71. *sure:* Q6 reads *sore,* which may be correct.

73. *That, you conceiue mee, before God, all's naught:* all Sir Arthur means is this: "So that, you understand, before God, he is bankrupt."

80. *colour:* pretense.

83. *Cheston Nunry:* cf. note to Act I, scene i, ll. 55-57; Cheston is now Cheshunt in Hertfordshire.

86. *quicke:* alive.

88-89. Possibly an allusion to the Biblical commandment: "Honor thy father and thy mother."

97. *Twixt youthfull Ierningham:* Manly points out that this construction is left incomplete.

Scene ii

1. *commanders:* Blague is addressing his servants off stage.

2. *knights and competitors:* the knights and their confederates; cf. *Love's Labours Lost,* Act II, scene i, l. 82. *your:* Latin *iste;* cf. Abbot, *Shakespearean Grammar,* p. 221.

3. *harborough:* Hop. explains: "Harbour, lodging; the word is applied to lodging in an inn." Here, however, the image is that of ships docking at a wharf for water.

4. *Via:* an exclamation encouraging or inciting action: onward, come on, &c. *(N.E.D.).*

6. *knights of the subsidy:* a jocular phrase meaning knights who, instead of fighting, voted subsidies.

9. *case of pistolles:* a brace of pistols, referring to Frank and Raymond.

9-10. *Greeke and Latine bullets:* an allusion to the classical training the two young men have had at the university.

11. *nimble Giberalters:* the true meaning of this expression is unknown. Walk. detects in *Giberalters* "a coinage from jibbing horses" and believes the following clause, "blow wind in your calues to make them swell bigger," is an allusion to a trick employed by horse sellers to make a poor animal pass for one in good condition. *N. E. D.* queries a Gibraltar monkey, citing this passage and one from Harvey's *Pierce's Super:* "Asse, and worse then a Cumane Asse, and foole, and dolt, and idiot . . . and dodipoul, and Gibraltar." The small legs of gentlemen, of course, were often the subject of jests. Cf. Act. I, scene iii, ll. 62-63.

13. *puntillioes:* is this word, by any chance, meant to suggest "punctuation" or "punctiliousness"?

Orthography: a malapropism, of course, but does Blague refer to the scorn gentlemen often professed at knowing how to write? See *Love's Labours Lost,* Act V, scene i, ll. 16-17.

14-15. *Titere tu, patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi:* this is the opening line of Virgil's first eclogue, the two beginning lines of which I translate: "Tityrus, thou, reclining beneath the canopy of the spreading beech, woo the woodland muse with thy oaten pipe."

16-17. *Bilbo, though he be somewhat out of fashion, will be your onely blade still:* Bilboa, Spain, was famous for the manufacture of good blades. Cf. Chambers, *Eliz. Stage,* III, 472; also Adams, *Dram. Records,* p. 26, who lists under the year 1623 a play entitled: *Hardshifte for Husbands, or Bilbo's the Best Blade,* written by Samuel Rowley. And in the ballad "The Lamentation of George Mannington" (1576), famous for its opening line: "I wayle in woe, I plundge in payne," is found this couplet:

> Trust not too much to Bilboe-blade,
> Nor yet to fortune's fickle trade;
> (Ritson's *Ancient Songs and Ballads,* p. 109).

21. *sea-card:* either the card of the mariner's compass or a chart of the sea and seacoast was called a sea card. *(N. E. D.)*

23. *my souldier of S. Quintins:* modern editors have made much of this reference. "Eight thousand English soldiers, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, were present at the battle of S. Quentins, 1557" (W. P.). Walk. corrects W. P., stating that the soldiers were not present at the battle, but at the subsequent storming of the town in 1557. Manly adds that the expression was "perhaps intended to suggest also that Bilbo's prowess had been exhibited only at the quintain (or quintin)." Brooke does not annotate the reference. Hop. repeats, in different words, the statements of W. P. and Walk. He adds that "This has been regarded as a date limit for the play, but it is much too early." That the reference can have but little value as a date limit is true. Manly's suggestion is ingenious, but, I think, misses the mark. All the editors have overlooked the fact that just outside London one of four rendezvous for "hee-devils and shee-devils" was popularly known as S. Quentins (cf. Dekker's *Belman of London,* p. 110):

> In these barnes doe *Vpright-men* lie with *Morts,* and turne *Dels* into *Doxyes* (that is to say, ravish young wenches) whilst the *Rogue* is glad to stand at *Reversion* and to take the others leavings.

Hence I take it that the Host, in his jesting manner, is making an allusion which will draw laughter from the audience. Too, from what we know of Bilbo, the epithet is not misplaced.

24. *Charles waine:* "Here the Host is drawing on his astronomical learning, and compares the constellation of the Great Bear to the sparkling wine he has in his cellar" (Hop.).

25. *Crab-fish:* "a stale crab is said to be luminous in the dark" (Manly). May not this also be a constellation, the Crab or Cancer?

26-27. *Coopers Dixionary:* an obvious pun, of course, with an allusion to Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae,* the first edition of which appeared in 1565. Dekker seems to have used this same work in *Meeting of G.,* where he refers to Juno's conception of Mars by a flower. Cf. Wilson, *Meeting of G.,* p. 238.

31. Both the exit of Bilbo and the Host and the entrance of Sir Arthur, Harry, and Milliscent are unrecorded in the early quartos. According to the make-up of the 1608 Quarto the exit should have been at the bottom of $B2^{v}$, and the entrance, at the top of $B3^{r}$. The meeting of the two groups, moreover, is very awkwardly portrayed. Sir Arthur does not speak to Sir Richard; Harry, although a good friend of both, addresses neither Raymond nor Frank, if we assign ll. 48-49 to Frank. The presence of *Harry Clare* instead of *Ierningham* in l. 50 is probably an error, but it is at least possible that ll. 48-49 should be given to Harry. My conjecture is that here we have evidence of an excised passage, or a "doctored" passage, or both.

37-38. And yet a few lines below Fabell knows all about Sir Arthur's proposed trick!

40. Manly is correct in saying that at this point Sir Ralph and Sir Arthur engage in conversation.

50. *Ierningham:* the quartos read *Harry Clare.* Haz. assigns the preceding speech and the following speech to Harry. W. P. and all later editors keep the assignment of the quartos and regard *Harry Clare* in l. 50 as an error. Cf. note to l. 31 above.

54. *Art:* "I presume Fabell means his *magic* art" (Hop.).

Scene iii

4. *by:* Haz. emends to *my;* W. P. and Walk. agree; Manly retains the quarto reading and explains that "*by* was probably the author's word; the construction is often careless."

7. *dowage:* dowry; *ioynture:* the holding of property to the joint use of a husband and wife for life, or in tail, as a provision for the latter in the event of her widowhood *(N.E.D.).*

9. *foxe:* a common term of contempt and an especial favorite of Dekker's. Cf. also Act III, scene ii, l. 7.

10. *to strike a match:* to conclude a match.

21. *Enuill:* read *Enfield.*

38-46. This passage is obscure in meaning, as Frank observes (ll. 47-48), and the syntax is involved. The sense seems to be: "These words (ll. 31-37) would have brought no consolation if any other person had spoken them; since you are my very intimate friend, however, they do have some effect on me. But, on the other hand, since you are also my rival for the hand of Milliscent, I cannot believe you are sincere in your offers of assistance." If this interpretation be correct, Raymond knows Frank is his rival; it is likewise evident (cf. ll. 47-48 and 79-80) that neither Frank nor Harry is aware of Sir Arthur's plans. The question, then, is this: when and how did Raymond learn of his impending misfortune? My conjecture is that some scene has been lost—a scene, let us say, between Milliscent and Raymond in which she told him of what she had overheard. Raymond thinks, of course, that Frank knows about the situation. The excision of such a scene by a careless reviser may be responsible for the imperfections noted in ll. 38 ff.

42. *they:* the antecedent is *that word,* which refers to Frank's speech (ll. 31-37). Walk. suggests that the phrase *Northerne winds* may be responsible for the plural pronoun.

43-46. Tieck renders these four lines:

> Es würde dieser hohle Laut, gesprochen
> Von Lippen jedes andern Sterblichen,
> Mehr meinem Ohr Vertrauen abgewinnen;
> Doch von dir nimmermehr.

49. Harry addresses Raymond, calling him *boy.*

50. *stitches:* sudden sharp pains.

52. *hudman-blind:* an old name for blind-man's buff. Cf. *Hamlet,* Act III, scene iv, ll. 76-77:

> . . . what devil was't
> That thus hath cozen'd you at hoodman-blind?

54. *horse-trickes:* rough, boisterous play. Both *N.E.D.* and the *Century Dictionary* cite this passage. The expression appears in Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness,* Act I, scene iii, l. 19, and in Dekker's *Guls H. B.* (Gros., II, 206).

57-69. Fabell's speech (ll. 57-60) is verse; Frank's (ll. 61-66) is printed in part as verse Q1-Q3, the lines ending //in me/ha/hose/I am//. Modern editors print the whole speech as prose. Harry's speech (ll. 67-69) is also printed in part as crippled verse, the lines

ending //thee/how/company/Rascall//, and modern editors likewise print this as prose. The succeeding speeches, however, are metrical. It should be observed, furthermore, that beginning with l. 57 a touch of low humor enters and is retained through l. 69, where it dies as suddenly as it was born. The omission of these lines would cause no break in the thought; the presence of them strongly suggests the hand of a reviser.

59. *geere:* affair, business; *in hugger-mugger:* in secret, clandestinely.

63-64. *any thing in my forehead:* a reference to the horns of a cuckold.

65. *bend in the hams:* cf. *A Yorkshire Tragedy,* scene iii, ll. 58-59: "to crouch and stand like an old man ith hams"; and also, *Pericles,* Act III, scene iv, l. 107: "The French knight that cowers i'th hams."

66. *towards marriage:* about to marry.

67-69. Harry pretends to understand that Frank is already married, thus furthering the joke.

70. *must:* is to have; cf. l. 30 above.

73. *to lanch their busy bags:* this phrase has given editors considerable difficulty. W. P. and Walk. take *lanch* to mean *launch;* Manly is sure it means *lance,* citing from *N.E.D.:* "(He) commandes hym cofly cofers to lance. (E. E. Allit. P., B 1428)." Walk. thinks *busy* is corrupt; Dod. conjectures *pursy;* Manly retains *busy,* again citing *N.E.D.* Hop. suggests that *heavy* would make better sense. True, but no printer would misread *busy* from *heavy* in Elizabethan handwriting. I am unable to throw additional light on the problem.

82. *slubber:* to obscure. Cf. *Othello,* Act I, scene iii, l. 228.

85-86. *Where ere did we meete thee and wanton springs*
That like a wag thou hast not laught at me;

For l. 85, Q2 and Q4-Q6, read: *"Where e'er didst meet me, that* (Q6 *but*) *we two were iouial."* Brooke queries *in* for *and;* Hop. accepts this suggestion and interprets *wanton springs* as meaning "the excesses of youth"; Manly cites the *Century Dictionary* to support his belief that we should take *springs* as meaning "springals, lively young men." Tieck thus translates the two lines:

Wo du mich trafst, dass wir zwei fröhlich waren,
Hast du mich nicht im tollen Muth verlacht.

It is difficult to know exactly what is meant.

94. *That:* so that.

101. *counterfeit:* W. P. incorrectly explain: "a false coin"; see *Century Dictionary* and *N.E.D.* for the meaning: "an impostor."

102. *thou hast begot my life:* you have restored the hope that I had lost.

111. Hop. writes: "This line is omitted in Q1. The editor of Q2, therefore, must have had access to the author's MS. or to a playhouse transcript." Hop. is in error, however, for the line appears in Q1 (F) (H), although it is omitted in Q1 (C^2) (W). The error was corrected while the 1608 Quarto was in the press, and the corrected version of this page was used for the second edition copy.

114-115. Walk. interprets, I believe correctly: "What return will you freely render for the honour in which Mounchensey holds you?" The phrase, *upon the measure of thy grace,* indicates that the return is one which cannot be exacted as a right; it must be left to the grace of Harry, and will be measured by that grace.

130. *pretend:* to intend, purpose, design. Cf. Lyly, *Euphues,* p. 110: "That women when they be most pleasaunt, pretend most mischief" *(N.E.D.).*

132. *to bussell for the set:* a figure drawn from tennis imagery. "To busy ourselves to win the number of games that determines the victor" (Walk.).

134 ff. Just another reminder that Fabell is a magician.

136. *Carriers Iades:* pack horses, noted for their slowness and lack of mettle.

138. *Cuts:* "A familiar expression for a common or labouring horse" (Nares). "It is doubtful whether the sense is 'cut-tail horse' or 'gelding'" *(N.E.D.).*

139. *Dossers:* panniers, baskets.

141. *cheere:* food. These lines smack strongly of Dekker.

145-146. If by *vs* in l. 132 Fabell means "Raymond and me," this speech should be assigned to Harry. In this case the *we* of l. 145 would refer to Harry and Frank.

Act II, Scene i

1. *Take me with you:* let me understand you; cf. *1 Henry IV,* Act II, scene iv, ll. 506-507.

2. *and:* i.e., an (if).

3-4. See Introduction, pp. 77-78.

5. *Banks, your ale is a Philistine fox:* an allusion to Samson's tying firebrands to the tails of foxes (Walk.). Cf. Judges 15:4: "And Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took fire-

brands, and turned tail to tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between two tails."

6. *to charge:* a quibble is intended.

7. *i'th rereward:* in the posteriors.

7-8. *it tickles our Catastrophe:* it tickles our tail. Cf. also Act V, scene i, l. 138, and *II Henry IV,* Act II, scene i, ll. 65-66:

> Away, you scullion! you rampallian! you fustilarian!
> I'll tickle your catastrophe.

Munro (*Shakespeare Allusion Book,* p. 222) quotes Furnival's note: "No doubt there were plenty of Elizabethan wits able to call a man's hinder 'end' his catastrophe; but I don't know the phrase earlier than Shakspere."

12. *Hem, Grasse and hay!:* Sir John's characterization phrase. "The catchphrase seems to have been in vogue, 1599-1606. See *The Shoemaker's Holiday, Sir John Oldcastle,* and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton"* (Lawrence, *Speeding Up Shakespeare,* p. 111).

15. *still:* i.e., always.

17. *Vulcan:* it should be observed that Vulcan was of Smug's trade.

17-18. *Sir Iohn, locke, lock, lock fast:* "It is hard to decide whether Smug wishes to embrace Sir John or is pretending to fence with him, cf. *N.E.D., lock v.* 7a, 7c. As a term in marching, it seems not to have been in use so early" (Manly). Gayley suggests that Smug wishes Sir John to lock arms by the elbows to drink with him.

23. *and:* Q1 and Q3 read *in,* which may be correct. If so, *in hugge* means "secretly"; cf. Act I, scene iii, l. 59.

28. *motion:* "proposal; Banks is the only one of the three sober enough to remember their plan" (Manly).

38. *taking:* condition.

39. *belles:* an allusion to the curfew bells.

40. Haz. thought the comma should be placed after *good.*

46. *where:* archaic form often used for *here.*

47. *and how? and how?:* "Not a query, but an exclamation meaning 'ho' " (Manly).

50. *Castilian dialogues:* another example of the Host's elevated diction. Note below (55): *Hungarions;* (60): *bosonians.* Nares says: "There are several conjectures concerning the use of this appellation [Castilian]; and indeed it seems to have been employed in several senses: (1) As a reproach: 'Thou are a *Castilian,* king urinal.' (*M.W.W.* II. iii. 34); (2) For a delicate courtier: Marston draws the character of

. . . The absolute *Castilio,*
He that can all the points of court ship show.
(*Sat.,* i. 138)"

"My fine friend is making a speech" (McIl.).

51-52. *I see by thy eyes thou hast bin reading little Geneua print:* of this passage Manly writes: "An equivoque. The Geneva Bible (first edition 1560) was the most popular version before that of 1611, and so far as I can learn, the only version printed in 8vo, all other versions being fol. or 4to. N.E.D. gives no instance of 'gin' or 'Geneva' as the name of the liquor before 1700, but under *Geneva* quotes Massinger, *Duke of Milan* (1623), I. ii. 9-12: 'If you meet An officer preaching of sobriety, Vnlesse he read it in Geneva print, Lay him by the heeles.'—Graccho is declaring it treason to be sober." Of course, the point here is that Smug's eyes are inflamed from drinking.

53. *king's Deere:* this need not be taken as evidence of date for the play, since the reference may be historical. Cf. Appendix I (Induction), ll. 18-19:

In Edmonton he [Fabell] was borne, lived and died in the raigne of King H. the 7.

55. *Hungarions:* a quibble on "hungry ones." Cf. Act IV, scene i, l. 1, and also Introduction, pp. 00. Nares quotes from Lupton's *London* (*Harl. Misc.,* IX, 314): "The middle aile (of St. Paul's) is much frequented at noon with a company of *hungarians,* not walking so much for recreation as need." The word appears in many Elizabethan plays.

56-57. See Appendix I, ll. 1118-1127, and observe that the thieves did not have time to appoint a place of meeting. The suggestion of Enfield Church-porch comes from the use of the *Jest* as a source (cf. Introduction, pp. 23-25).

57. See note on Act I, scene i, l. 10, above.

59. *He shall haue ransome, by the Lord:* "Here is proof, I think, that the play was written at least a few years before the passing of the statute against oaths, 3 Jac. 1. c. 21, although it was printed after that date. In the later quartos, 4-6, the oath is expunged, and *by my sword* substituted" (Hop.). Cf. also W. P., *op. cit.,* Introduction, p. ix.

60. *bosonians:* beggars, dependents. The term (more commonly *besonians*) was applied to needy soldiers. Cf. *N.E.D.; II Henry IV,* Act V, scene iii, l. 119; and *Blurt Master Constable* (Bullen), p. 20.

61. *Nine a clocke:* "This is the time set for the meeting, but in IV. i. 38 the clock strikes ten and in IV. ii. 8 the Sexton says: 'Well, tis nine o'clock; 'tis time to ring curfew.' Is this an indication of the use of two clocks with which some critics endow Shakespeare?" (Manly). No, for in Act IV, scene i, l. 38, if the clock strikes ten, it does run at random! Moreover, the sexton's statement was probably taken over from the *Jest.* Cf. Introduction, p. 24, and Appendix II.

61. *Gogmagogs:* Hop. explains: "Gog and Magog were two fabulous giants, mentioned in early British history, something under eighteen feet in height. The Host is indulging in his ironical humour by calling them *little.* Probably the statues outside the London Guildhall, which were there in the reign of Henry V, suggested their use to mine Host, rather than the biblical allusion." Cf. F. W. Fairholt, *Gog and Magog* (London, 1859), for an account of their real and legendary history.

66. *Boore:* a peasant, a rustic person, a country clown.

67-68. *Cittizen of good fellowes:* Brooke suggests that "Sir John may mean 'paragon.'" McIl. interprets: "companion on equal terms." Adams states that *good fellowes* means "jolly fellows, drinkers."

Scene ii

2. *shalles:* a quibble on *shall* and *shale* (i.e., *shell*) seems to have been common. Nares quotes this passage along with two others:

> Thus all with *shall* or *shalles* ye shall be fed.
> (Churchyard's *Challenge,* p. 153).

Another man shall enjoye the sweet kirnell of this hard and chardgeable nutt, which I have been so long in cracking; and nothing left to me but *shells* and *shalls* to feed me withall.
(Ascham, in *Har. Nugae Ant.,* I, 101).

6. *brangled:* "rendered uncertain" (McIl.). *N.E.D.* quotes this passage and adds that the term seems to imply squabbles and litigations.

11. *queane:* "wench" (McIl.).

27. *his:* in the sixteenth century *his* was used as possessive of both the neuter and the masculine pronoun.

39. *braue:* threaten, menace.

40. *were't not for man-hood sake:* if to be hot-headed were not foolish since I am a man. . . .

41. *some:* Raymond and Harry, for instance.

54. *skeens:* Irish knives.

57. *Then for their froward parents sore (distress):* suggested to the present editor by Professor J. Q. Adams, who writes: "In all likelihood there is corruption, and no emendation can be certain. I suspect an error, with the adjective 'sore' modifying some final word now lost. Query 'soaring spleen'? 'sore mislike'? 'soaring rage'?" Q1 and Q3 read: "Then for their froward parents soares," and Q4-Q6 read *forward;* instead of *soares,* Q4-Q6, Dod., Col., Tyr., and Haz. read *frowardnesse.* W. P. and Walk. interpret *soares* as "soaring flights (i.e., quarrels)." Brooke suggests "sore feelings." Manly writes: "It is just as likely to be 'sores.'" McIl. interprets *soares* as "grievances."

65. *lim'd:* entangled, encumbered.

66. Karl Elze (*Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists,* p. 6) suggests this emendation: "Sir Arthur! You've startled his free active spirit," explaining that the line is metrically imperfect. "Elizabethan poets regularly ignored an initial exclamation like 'Oh'" (Adams).

75-76. *And, father, ere yong Ierninghams Ile bee,*
I will turne mad to spight both him and thee.

Was Milliscent thinking of Ophelia? In this period two attitudes toward insanity existed. According to the first, it was something to be jested about; cf. Anthony Scoloker's *Daiphantus, or The Passions of Love, Comical to read, But Tragical to Act* (Arber's *English Garner,* VII, 379 ff.). The second attitude, one of compassion, is illustrated in Dekker's *I Honest Whore,* Act V, scene ii.

78. *I sweare by this good light:* a common oath.

82-83. *Now, Mounchensey, you see how matters fadge;*
Your Milliscent must needes be made a Nun.

Quartos and all editors read *M. Clare, Mr. Clare,* or *Master Clare* instead of *Mounchensey;* but Sir Arthur Clare has left the stage, and *Your Milliscent,* if addressed to Harry Clare, hardly makes sense. Moreover, the context definitely suggests that Fabell's remarks are addressed to Raymond Mounchensey, the lover, to whom Milliscent belongs. The emendation does not affect the meter, and in the light of many similar errors in the text, loses its rashness.

82. *fadge:* "(Etymology unknown; first found late in 16th century) . . . to succeed, thrive" *(N.E.D.).*

87. *handfull hie:* a lineal measure, formerly taken as equal to three inches, but now to four.

90. *with:* quartos, Dod.-Man., Olip., and McIl. read *make,* but this word probably crept in from the line above.

90-95. These lines are probably corrupt, but any emendation by rearranging them must remain uncertain in accuracy. Mr. P. A. Daniel suggests the following reading:

> And with the Lady prioresse of the house
> To play at leape-froge, naked in their smockes;
> And tickling these mad lasses in their flanckes,
> They'll sprawle, and squeke, and pinch their fellow Nunnes,
> Vntill the merry wenches at their masse
> Cry teehee weehee.

Brooke conjectures this reading:

> To play at leape-froge, naked in their smockes,
> And make the Lady prioresse of the house
> Cry teehee weehee;
> And tickling these mad lasses in their flanckes,
> Vntill the merry wenches at their masse
> Shall sprawle, and squeke, and pinch their fellow Nunnes.

Scene iii

3. *composure:* "those composed" (Brooke), referring, of course, to the elder Clare and Jerningham.

4. *mart of durt:* "money-market" (McIl.); but does the phrase not mean simply "the earth"?

6. *winck on:* close her eyes to.

12-13. *be no farther spent . . . eyes:* "do not take your grief to heart" (McIl.).

14. Manly paraphrases: "The course of true love never did run smooth."

17. *Yond:* the Q3 reading, *Yonder,* improves the meter.

18-19. "The want of you will drive him into a retirement (i.e., seclusion) which will waste his blood and make him pale" (Walk.).

20-21. "True love has the sweetness and harmony of music; but if the lovers are separated, their 'less worlds,' the microcosmus of the disunited youth and maid, bear within them hell" (Walk.).

22-26. The fact that the passage, *Harry . . . mee,* is printed as prose in the early quartos and appears at the bottom of $C3^v$, while the remainder at the top of $C4^r$ is printed in verse—in addition to the general ambiguity of the entire passage—seems to indicate a corrupt text. These lines have been subjected to numerous emendations: W. P. place a period after *breath* (l. 23); but, as Manly notes, this can hardly mean anything but "we must die." They admit no break in l. 24. Walk. suggests for ll. 23-24 this interpretation: "We

must part; pardon me for repeating what your corrupt fathers have deliberately enjoined." Haz. wishes to read *ill* for *all* in l. 24 and *to* for *do* in l. 26. Brooke thinks *the breath of all advised corruption* means "the voice, or command, of the personification of premeditated dishonesty," and that this refers to old Clare and Jerningham. He interprets ll. 25-26: "I must speak as I do of your fathers, and you may know I love you because I do not say that even greater malice (than *advised corruption*) is the cause of our separation." McIl. agrees with Brooke, suggesting for *breath not rougher spight:* "Use no angrier words." Mr. P. A. Daniel would change *do* (l. 26) to *doth;* he would then regard the words: *Pardon mee . . . spight* (ll. 24-26) as parenthetical, thus making *the breath* (l. 23) subject of *doth seuer* (l. 26). This emendation I accept.

27-28. *Weele meet by stealth, sweet friend,—by stealth, you twaine;*
Kisses are sweetest got with strugling paine.

Professor Manly is almost certainly correct when he writes: "I cannot resist the conviction that the two lines should be ascribed to Harry. If so, he first addresses Raymond as *sweet friend* in regard to their own future meetings and then, referring to Raymond and his sister as *you twaine,* speaks of their meetings. It is to be noted that if this assignment is not made, Harry takes no part in the conversation. It may also be added that the intervention of this speech makes Raymond's reply in lines 29-31 less absurd." I believe it should be added that the second line of the couplet is more appropriate as light banter from Harry than it is as romantic philosophy from Raymond, especially since Milliscent is present to hear the lover's insinuated boast of success.

44. Manly assigns this line and also l. 52 to Harry instead of to Raymond.

51. *broker:* used here as it is in this passage from Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses,* II, 39:

> Yea, I have h[e]ard prisoners (and not any almost but they sing the same song) when they have gone to execution, declaime and crie out against brookers. For, said they, "if brokers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not have received our stollen goods, we woulde never have stollen them; and if we had not stollen them, we had not been hanged."

Thus there was a close affinity between the cutpurse and the broker.

54. Lobster pies, etc. are supposed to be aphrodisiacs.

63. W. P. think the presence of *Yet* gives an obscene meaning to *keept vnder.*

68. *Waltham abby:* cf. note to Act I, scene i, ll. 55-57. Weever (*Antient Funeral Monuments,* pp. 397-398) gives an interesting account of this abbey:

This abbey was founded by a king of England, who of all others reigned least and lost most. For within the compass of a year, he lost both his life and his kingdom, at one cast, and both of them to a stranger; I mean HAROLD II. the son of earl Godwin; who having built and sufficiently endowed this his foundation, for a dean, and eleven secular black canons, he caused it to be consecrated, to the honor of a certain holy cross, found far westward, and brought hither by miracle. King Henry II. new builded this monastery, and placed therein regular canons; augmenting their number to four and twenty, and also the revenues. . . .

HENRY III. increased much their revenues with fairs and markets; a fair here for seven days; and at Epping a market every Monday, and a fair for three days. So by the munificence of these kings, their successors, and subjects, this abbey, at the general survey, and surrender, was valued . . . to dispend yearly 900 £. 4s. 4d. The catalogue of the religious houses saith 1079 £. 12s. 1d.

The church of this monastery hath ecsaped the hammers of destruction, and with a venerable aspect, sheweth unto us the magnitude of the rest of this religious structure.

69. *Cheston:* cf. note to Act I, scene i, ll. 55-57.

Act III, Scene i

11. *Requiem:* the Mass of the Requiem, sung for the repose of the souls of the dead, promised to Lady Clare as a reward.

15. *handsomly:* i.e., readily, appropriately.

27. Daniel would give this speech and those assigned to Milliscent (ll. 39, 46, 63) to Bilbo, but Brooke is correct in pointing out that ll. 37-38 and 39 cannot belong to the same speaker, since each is a separate comment, from a different point of view, on what the prioress has said in ll. 29-36.

27-28. *Good men and true, stand together, and heare your charge:* cf. Ingenioso's charge in *The Return from Parnassus,* Act I, scene ii, ll. 116-117: "Good men and true, stand together, hear your censure."

33. *buske:* Nares says the busk was "Thought very essential to the female figure," quoting from Marston, *Scourge,* II, vii:

> Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffe verdingall,
> Is all that makes her thus angelical.

38. *beast:* a living being *(N.E.D.).*

40. *sacring bell:* (1) A small bell rung at the elevation of the host. (2) In post-Reformation times, sometimes applied to a small bell rung to summon parishioners to morning prayers, or to mark the point in the Communion Service at which the people should go up to communicate *(N.E.D.).* Cf. Appendix I, ll. 469-478; was this the sacring bell?

42. *Rise at midnight to your mattens:* "In the ancient service of the church matins began at midnight" (Manly).

43. *latins:* i.e., any part of the service which was sung in Latin.

55. *You must creepe vnto the Crosse: N.E.D.* explains: "The Adoration of the Cross, in the Roman Service for Good Friday." See Chambers, *Med. Stage,* II, 17. There is reason to believe this ceremony was not limited to Good Friday; cf. *Cath. Ency.,* IV, 536, and also Young, *The Drama of the Med. Church,* II, 118 ff.

59. *bid your beads:* i.e., say your prayers.

68-75. S.D.: *Exeunt women* emended to include *and Sir Arthur* by Reed, Scott, Col., Tyr., Haz., and Manly. I cannot accept this emendation. (1) The stage direction of the quartos is sufficiently specific: *Exeunt women.* (2) Bilbo's speeches, ll. 89-90: *hee flowts the old fooles to their teeth* and l. 101: *A plague on you both for a couple of Iewes,* include both Sir Ralph and Sir Arthur. (3) Sir Arthur's statement, l. 64: *Madam, we haue some business of import,* means that "Sir Ralph and I have some business," namely: the speech to Frank, ll. 69 ff. (4) Sir Ralph, to whom ll. 69-75 are assigned in the quartos, would not call his son *Frank Ierningham.* I submit, therefore, that ll. 69-75 should be assigned to Sir Arthur *(Sir Ar.)* and not, as in the quartos, to Sir Ralph *(Sir Ra.);* that *Francke Clare* of Q1-Q5 be emended to read *Francke Ierningham;* and that *Thy,* l. 72, be not emended to *Her.*

97. *To thrust Mounchenseys nose besides the cushion:* the meaning is obviously: "to deceive Mounchensey" or "to upset his plans," but the origin of the expression has not been suitably explained. Nares says that *cushion* was *probably* a name for the target in archery, but he conjectures thus because the examples of such expressions as "miss the cushion," &c. seem to mean "miss the mark." Manly disagrees with Nares. Hop. explains: "To put *beside the cushion* means to be passed by in contempt. The saying probably arose from *cushion,* 'a riotous kind of dance, formerly very common at weddings, generally accompanied with kissing.'—Halliwell. The person passed by without the salutation of a kiss was

said to be *thrust beside the cushion.*" Of course, "to pass by in contempt" does not suit this passage. *N.E.D.* suggests "a drinking-vessel," quoting from *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Queen of Corinth*. As Manly notes, in most of the passages cited to illustrate the phrase, "to miss the cushion," the cushion upon which one sits seems to be the figure. But such can hardly be the figure in this passage. To thrust Mounchensey's nose beside the cushion (i.e., drinking-vessel) might be appropriate. For an account of the "Cushion Dance," cf. Alice B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland,* I, 87-94, and W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time,* I, 153-156.

99. This line is metrically imperfect; Manly suggests that some such word as "absent" be placed after *him.*

103-104. Frank first addresses Harry (l. 103), then turns and speaks to his father (l. 104).

109. *ghostly:* spiritual.

112. *confessor:* the meter demands that the stress be placed on the first and the last syllables.

Scene ii

5. *Our serious speech hath stolne vpon the way:* cf. *Sir John Oldcastle,* Act III, scene i, l. 76: "Our serious conference hath beguiled the way." Cf. also *Richard II,* Act II, scene iii, ll. 6-12.

16-18. Childbirth imagery is common with Dekker. Cf. Introduction, pp. 82-83.

20. *how this iest takes fire: N.E.D.* quotes this passage; cf. *"fig.* To become inflamed with some emotion or the like; to become excited, esp. with anger; to become enraged, to 'fire up.' " The literal interpretation seems to be simply "how this jest succeeds."

23. *vent your spleenes with tickling mirth:* "Be so tickled with the humor of it as to give passage to your mirth" (Walk.).

36. The stage direction in the quartos reads: *"Holy Maidens knocke,"* but Dod. corrected the error. The imperative form of *knocke* seems to point to a prompt-copy.

39. *A Frier without, now Christ vs saue:* cf. Introduction, pp. 26-27.

41-44. Had Raymond, or Fabell disguised as Friar Hildersham, made arrangements with the prioress? If so, was this represented in a scene once a part of the play?

50. *Call'd Milliscent of Edmunton:* Hop. notes that "a woman on entering a nunnery was usually called by her Christian name, to which was added the name of the place whence she came."

59. *drift:* scheme, plot, design, device *(N.E.D.).*

73. Cf. Act IV, scene i, l. 90. Perhaps both these lines were spoken as *asides.*

84. *Helped . . . nouice:* Brooke supplies this line, and some such line is needed. All modern editors except W. P. agree that the passage is corrupt; W. P. read *Harry* for *Fabell* in l. 85 and explain: "Fabell, in the habit of Friar Hildersham, made his plot with the aid of Francke and Harry and with my own assistance, and *so,* i.e., in that disguise, he conversed with Sir Arthur Clare." Walk. rightly rejects W. P.'s explanation, declaring that "plotted by" can hardly mean "made his plot with the aid of."

90. *I was a dream't:* i.e., I dreamed. Walk. says that this construction probably corresponds to the Chaucerian *a blackberied* (i.e., *a blackberrying*), where the final dental indicates not the past participle but an Old English verbal substantive in *að,* the whole being a prepositional phrase. Cf. Skeat's note to *The Pardoner's Tale,* l. 406. Manly believes it is more likely to be a past participle with the prefix *a* which equals *y,* even though this is the only verbal form known. He cites *N.E.D., a-dreamed.* Cf. also Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* II, 76: "I was adreamt to-night that he paid me all."

to night: last night. This was a common expression with Tudor authors.

94. Manly points out that the meter of this line would be improved if *he came* were taken from the following line, but that this line would then be spoiled.

99-100. *O thou Idolatresse, that dost this worship*
To him whose likenes is but praise of thee:

Manly interprets: "Who resembles an angel only in that he is praised by thee."

107. *I haue offended three yeares now with thee:* but note Act I, scene i, ll. 46-49.

127 ff. Tieck changes speech assignments in this part of the scene. He gives l. 127 to Harry; ll. 140-141 to Frank; ll. 149-150 to Harry; then Fabell enters for the remainder of the speech and scene. But surely Tieck is wrong in giving l. 150 to Harry, who would *not* say: "The wench is ours before to morrow day."

129-130. *I haue confest her, and the Lady Prioresse*
Hath giuen me ghostly counsell with hir blessing.

We have no record of this interview with the Prioress; nor has Raymond had the opportunity for such a conference off stage. He

arrives at the nunnery (Act III, scene ii, l. 36), and up to this point has not left the stage. At l. 52, the nun who answered his knock tells him:

> This newes Ile to our Abbas beare,
> To tell her what a man is sent
> And your message and intent.

But we do not see the Abbess; in fact, the two persons we next see are Milliscent and her mother. Nevertheless, ll. 129-130 indicate that in all probability there once existed a scene between the Abbess and Mounchensey. Assuming, then, that the full version of the play contained such a scene, when did it occur? It would be easy to believe that it should be placed between Mounchensey's speech (Act III, scene ii, ll. 57-60) and the entrance of Milliscent and Lady Dorcas, for we rather expect the Abbess to appear when she receives the nun's message. Certain facts, however, prevent us from placing the scene here. In ll. 59-60 Mounchensey says:

> Now happy fortune speede this merry drift,
> I like a wench comes roundly to her shrift.

I take *roundly* to mean "promptly" (cf. *N.E.D.*). To our satisfaction and to his, then, Milliscent comes *roundly,* appearing immediately after his speech. Far more convincing evidence, however, is found in the four lines preceding the entrance of Fabell, Harry, and Frank (ll. 118-121):

> *Ray:* No more replie, if that you yeeld consent.
> I see more eyes vpon our stay are bent.
> *Mill:* Sweet life, farewell! Tis done; let that suffice;
> What my tongue failes, I send thee by mine eyes.

Now when Fabell, Harry, and Frank enter, we are led to believe that the *more eyes* of l. 119 refers to them, and that Milliscent, thus being observed by them, is constrained to reply with her eyes only. But when we recall the scene preceding Bilbo's entrance (Act II, scene iii, ll. 34-43) and remember that then Raymond kissed Milliscent at least twice in the presence of Fabell, Harry, and Frank, there certainly can be no reason to believe that their appearance here would have effected an abrupt conclusion to this love scene. Furthermore, the presence of Fabell, Harry, and Frank at the nunnery is unexpected and unexplained. My conjecture, therefore, is that the *more eyes* refers to the approach of the Abbess, who, in a scene now lost, gave Mounchensey *ghostly counsell with hir blessing* and that the scene between him and his three friends takes place on his return from the nunnery.

133. *vnbagd:* not pregnant; cf. *N.E.D.* Lines 131-136 are typical of Dekker's humor.

135-136. "Waltham calves were proverbial for stupidity, not for number, so far as I know; Romney Marsh lies just south of the Abbey" (Manly).

137-138. *the Nun will soone at night turne tippit:* "to turn tippitt" is a common expression meaning "to change completely one's course of life." W. P. believe the term is used especially to denote a maid's becoming a wife. Manly conjectures that "Perhaps originally it signified the abandonment of holy orders." Of course this expression in *The Merry Devil* may have a double meaning: (1) Millicent will abandon holy orders. (2) She will also change from the unmarried to the married state.

138. *to quit her cleanly of the Nunry:* take her away from the nunnery without detection.

142 ff. *hees the only man:* Fabell is unique in his rank as a magician. This information was evidently given to Raymond in the scene or scenes which have been lost. Cf. note to ll. 129-130 above. Manly thinks the mention of *Fryer Benedicke* betrays the influence of the original Bacon-Bungay story.

149. *keepe them in that key:* let the nuns' faith in my magic power remain unchanged.

159. *scamble:* to scramble, to make shift, to find means somehow. *N.E.D.* quotes this line.

163. Manly adds this note: "The North Lodge of the present Chase is nearer Cheshunt than the West or the South Lodge. Enfield lies 'downe the wood' (IV. i. 133)."

164. *tall:* bold, sturdy.

169-170. Harry: . . . *We will not faile the hower.*
[Ray]: *My life and fortune now lies in your power.*

The quartos and all editors except Manly ascribe these lines to Harry. Manly gives the second line to Raymond, and I agree. The line is utter nonsense if spoken by Harry, but does make good sense if spoken by Raymond, whose wedding and consequent happiness depend solely upon the success of the plans to be executed by Fabell, Harry, and Frank.

Act IV, Scene i

This is the beginning of the famous "nocturnal scene." In his discussion of how the dramatists created the illusion of darkness in the public theatres, Creizenach (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas,* IV, 416) writes:

Und die Dichter konnten selbst dann auf die bewegliche Phantasie der Zuschauer rechnen, wenn die Situation es mit sich brachte, dass in einer Nachtszene zwei Personen sich nicht erkannten, wie z. B. Hubert und der Bastard im ‚König Johann' V. 6., Cassius und Casca im ‚Julius Cäsar' II. 1, oder wenn Yarington uns auf der Bühne eine Mordszene vorführt und eine Zeugin der Szene nachher sagt, es sei so dunkel gewesen, dass sie nichts habe sehen können, oder wenn im ‚Merry Devil of Edmonton' eine Person zur andern sagt: ich sehe dich nicht, aber ich erkenne deine Stimme. In den grossen nächtlichen Verwicklungsszenen wie im ‚Merry Devil' und schon früher in den ‚Lustigen Weibern' und den ‚Two angry Women' sind natürlich solche Situationen besonders häufig.

Cf. W. J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies,* pp. 122-144, for a discussion of the Elizabethan nocturnal.

1. *yee Hungarian pilchers:* cf. note to Act II, scene i, l. 55. *Hungarian:* thievish, marauding *(N.E.D.); pilchers:* Nares says that *pilchers* is used here for *filchers;* Hop. thinks that the author wrote *Hungarian pilferers;* a *pilch* was originally an outer garment made of skin and hair, and in later use a coarse woollen or leathern outer garment. This definition leads Walk. to declare that *pilchers,* meaning "thieves," has no authority, but that "The men addressed are pilchers proleptically because they hope to secure the skin of the deer (for pilchers)." Manly points out that there is authority for this use of the word. He cites, as does *N.E.D.,* Tusser, *Husbandrie,* 33: "Some steal, some pilch, some all away filch." The entire speech (ll. 1-6) is an excellent example of the Host's vocabulary, but the expression under discussion seems to mean simply "marauding thieves." For *pilch N.E.D.* gives "to pilfer, to rob."

2. *zona torrida:* query: "in the center of"?

4. *Interrogatories:* cf. note to Act I, scene i, ll. 36-37.

4-5. *ile put fire into you:* I'll make you enthusiastic.

7. *my bully:* a term of endearment and familiarity, originally applied to either sex, but later, to men only, implying friendly admiration. See *Merry Wives of Windsor,* Act II, scene ii, l. 22.

7-8. *my noble Holefernes:* "Is Smug here alluding sarcastically to the Host's scholastic abilities? Holofernes is a schoolmaster and pedant in *Love's Labours Lost,* and was thought by Dr. Farmer and others to have been a caricature of John Florio, a teacher of Italian and lexicographer, contemporary with Shakespeare. The allusion in this play may be a stroke in the same direction" (Hop.). No other editor annotates this word. It should be remembered that Hop.

urges a Shakespearean authorship for *The Merry Devil.* Holofernes was a classical name of a schoolteacher.

10. *my braine was poore, it had yest in't:* Smug probably means that he had drunk so much ale, fermented with the aid of yeast, that the froth (synonymous with yeast; cf. *N.E.D.*) made his brains light. Cf. also Introduction, pp. 77-78.

15. *buttery:* a storehouse for wine, but associated from an early date with the storehouse for provisions.

17-19. *Banks, you and your horse keepe together; but lie close, shew no trickes, for feare of the keeper:* did Banks have a "horse" with him? If so, what kind? Opinions differ. W. P. cite Halliwell: "*horse:* a machine on which anything is supported by laying it across." Manly is sure that "This was no wooden horse; Banks was to carry off the deer on horseback." I am inclined to believe that Banks had no horse, but that Sir John alludes playfully to the famous horse, Marocco, whose owner was named Banks; this horse won a European reputation by his feats, the most famous of which was his climbing St. Paul's Cathedral in 1600. Halliwell-Phillipps (*Memoranda,* pp. 21-73) gives a full account of Banks and his horse, listing thirty-two allusions in contemporary literature. Nine of these thirty-two are taken from the works of Thomas Dekker. The exhortation, *shew no trickes,* perhaps strengthens my conjecture; furthermore, the scenes that follow afford no other indication that Banks had a horse with him. The *when they horst their deer* (l. 121) means nothing more than "when they took the deer upon their backs" (see *N.E.D.*). In scene ii, ll. 1-3, Banks thinks *he has bin in fifteen ditches betweene this and the forrest,* but there is no mention of a horse. Moreover, whatever relation the prose account may bear to the play, it contains no fewer than four episodes dealing with these poachers and their activities; yet in none of them does Banks have a horse. For an interesting account of the problem of horses on the stage, see Lawrence, "Horses upon the Elizabethan Stage," *T.L.S.,* June 5, 1919.

19-20. In the account given in the Pamphlet, "They had not time to take their leaves one of another, or appoynt a place of meeting."

22-23. Concerning this allusion, Oliphant writes: "The reference . . . to Banks falling out of a tree is probably to an incident originally shown." There is no such reference; it is Smug and not Banks who is asked *dost thou remember the tree thou felst out of last*

night? The allusion, though, is doubtless to a scene which once existed in the play. Cf. Introduction, pp. 15-21.

27. *feare no sprits:* see Introduction, p. 21.

30. *Thou speakst as true as velvet:* in Blague's diction this expression means "as true as can be." Walk. thinks the phrase is probably suggested by Sir John's reference to deer, since "A stag in velvet is a stag with the soft covering still on its horns." Manly merely notes: "One of many similar phrases," quoting from *Gammer Gurton,* Act V, scene ii, l. 121: "I am as true . . . as skin between thy browes." Hop. thinks the expression is proverbial, adding "but I cannot conceive why *true* should be especially applicable to velvet, unless it be that the nap or pile being cut one uniform length, presents a true and level appearance." To me this interpretation seems to be more ingenious than satisfactory.

31. *&c:* Hop. suggests that this was taken from the MS and meant that the actor was to complete Sir John's set speech.

34. *it's so darke:* a statement to give the illusion of darkness; the characters are groping their way about the stage.

36. *Potters gate:* Walk. locates this at the modern village of Potter's Bar. Manly remarks that if Walk. is correct, this village is about a mile and a half northwest of North Lodge, and considerably out of the direct way from Cheshunt.

39. *A:* he (the bell).

43. *stone Priest:* lascivious, lustful; cf. *N.E.D.* Cf. also Act IV, scene ii, l. 44.

45-46. *. . . Sir, very well,*
I would to God we were at Brians lodge.

Hazlitt (*Lectures on Dramatic Literature in the Age of Elizabeth,* p. 136) remarks: "A volume might be written to prove this last answer Shakespeare's in which the tongue says one thing in one line, and the heart contradicts it in the next; but there were other writers living in the time of Shakespeare, who knew these subtle windings of the passions besides him,—though none so well as he!"

54. *Shadow your selfe:* conceal yourself.

S. D. *one after another:* each character enters just in time to pick up his cue; they are groping and peeping about the stage as if trying to see each other through the darkness.

63. *Metrapolitane:* humorously applied to Sir John; Manly notes that the only Metropolitans in England were the archbishops of Canterbury and York.

The philistines are vpon vs: see Judges 16:12, where Delilah exclaims: "The Philistines are upon thee, Sampson." The term was humorously applied to those persons regarded as enemies, into whose hands one may fall, especially to sheriffs, bailiffs, etc. Dekker uses the term frequently.

68-69. Cf. Act II, scene i, ll. 56-57; Act IV, scene i, ll. 19-20.

S. D. *and his hound:* there are four deer-stealing episodes in the Pamphlet. In the first (ll. 461 ff.) there is no mention of a man or a dog with the keeper; in the second (ll. 512 ff.) the keeper is "well weaponed with his great mastive dog at his heeles"; but there is no man with him. In the third (ll. 752 ff.) the thieves do not encounter the keeper. In the fourth (ll. 1114 ff.) they are set upon by the keeper "and two or three more," but there is no reference to a dog. It should be added that Smug's man in the Pamphlet is named "Ralph." L. B. Wright ("Animal Actors on the English Stage before 1642," *PMLA*, LXII, 1927, 665) says: "Busse [in *The Distracted Emperor*] refers to his dog as 'my faythfull trustye spanyell,' but here the dog seems to have been merely incidental. So also was the hound used to trail Milliscent on the stage in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.*"

78. *goe vp the wind:* in the direction contrary to that in which the wind is blowing. The earliest example of this expression given in *N.E.D.* is dated 1611.

80. *Cony ocke:* "No doubt an oak with a rabbit hole under it" (Walk.).

82-83. *stayes vpon something:* the dog stops after scenting Milliscent, who is concealed behind the "brake of fern."

83. *Bowman:* the name of Brian's dog.

90. Cf. Act III, scene ii, l. 73.

92. *I, it is I, sir:* Aye, it is I, sir.

99. *sir Ralph:* Q1-Q5 read *sir Arthur.* "The metre shows that the confusion is due to the author" (Manly). W. P. point out that the meter would be improved by reading *my father and Sir Ralph.*

106 ff. This inability to recognize each other strengthens the realism of the scene and heightens the illusion of darkness for the audience.

112. *hot-shots:* the word seems to have had two meanings: (1) A certain class of soldiers (Nares). (2) Foolish, inconsiderate fellows (Halliwell). *N.E.D.* adds nothing. The second meaning, of course, applies here. See also Introduction, p. 76.

118. The omission of the relative pronoun in such constructions is not unusual.

121. *when they horst their Deere:* as already pointed out (note to Act IV, scene i, ll. 17-19), this expression does not necessarily mean "put the deer on a horse." There is even some doubt as to whether the thieves stopped long enough "to horse" the deer; cf. Act IV, scene i, ll. 68-69; but see also Act V, scene i, ll. 153 and 181-182. This apparent contradiction is probably the result of a confused combination of two different episodes, increased in ambiguity by the influence of one of the sources. See Introduction, pp. 15-21 and 23-25.

135. *to bussle with your fathers:* see note to Act I, scene iii, l. 132.

136. *keepe them play:* keep them busy.

139. *In the kings name:* this need not be taken as evidence of date, since, historically, the time of the play is in the reign of King Henry VII.

153-154. We do not know how or when Sir Arthur learned that Milliscent was to be taken to Brian's lodge. The scene of her elopement from the nunnery may have been a part of the original version of the play.

157. *My daughter:* "There is in this passage a whimsical suggestion of Shylock's cry for his ducats and his daughter" (Walk.). See Introduction, p. 29.

Scene ii

The complications of this scene are to be traced to its source in the *Shakespeare Jest-Books*. For a full discussion of this source, see Introduction, pp. 23-25.

7. *Theophilus:* this name may be an invention of the dramatist; in the *Jest* he was unnamed. Was the author familiar with the legend of the Theophilus-compact with the devil as later recounted by M. Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature,* pp. 181-185, and by Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England,* p. 239?

7-8. *hee was the best Nutcraker that euer dwelt in Enfeild:* "I don't understand this claim to distinction. Nutcrack Night was not for such as he" (Manly). The statement, however, was probably suggested by this passage in the source:

THERE was a certayne ryche husbandman in a vyllage, whiche louyd nuttes meruelously well and sette trees of fylberdes and other nutte trees in his orcharde, and norysshed them well all his lyfe; and when he dyed he made his executours to make promyse to bery with him in his graue a bagge of nuttes, or els they sholde not be his executours.

At least he may have been "the best" in that he had had more experience than anyone else in Enfield. Nutcrack Night, of course, is Halloween.

8. *Well, tis 9. a clock:* in Act II, scene i, l. 61, Blague sets the time for the meeting at nine o'clock; in Act IV, scene i, l. 38, Harry says the clock strikes ten, and Frank exclaims: *A lies in's throate . . . the clocke runs at random.* As far as I can discover, the curfew bell was always rung at eight or nine o'clock; perhaps, then, the clock "did run at random." The *tis 9. a clock* phrase, though, was taken from the source:

> It fortuned than the sexten of the church because yt was about ix of the cloke, cam to ryng curfue.

See Introduction, pp. 23-25.

24. *I am a man of another element:* "I am of another world, I'm dead" (Manly). Cf. Act. V, scene i, l. 277.

25-27. *There . . . steeple:* added by the dramatist. In the source the sexton runs home, but the *Jest,* of course, is a narrative and not a dialogue.

30-31. *I saw fifteen spirits in the forrest, like white bulles; if I lye, I am an arrant theefe:* two explanations of this allusion are possible: (1) The reference may rightly belong to the adventures of the thieves during the first night. If so, Sir John saw the scattered nuns. (Cf. Introduction, pp. 15-21.) (2) Sir John did not see any spirits; therefore he lies; he is an "arrant theefe." This the audience well knows!

35. *taine:* i.e., taken.

37. *I am a Paradox:* did the author—hardly the Host—mean: "I am what one would never take me to be—an honest man"?

40. *mareterraneum skinker:* Hop. would explain thus: "The Host means he will serve the Duke of Norfolk as a true skinker—i.e., tapster—by sea and land." In all likelihood it is merely the Host's meaningless use of the big word "Mediterranean."

41. *let me neuer looke higher then the element of a Constable:* to the Elizabethan of the middle class the constableship was an office of considerable importance.

43-44. See ll. 536-538 of the Pamphlet, Appendix I. As an example of word echoes suggesting Dekker, F. Liebermann quotes this passage in "Kleine Mitteilungen" (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen,* N. S., VII, 1901, 110).

46. *by this light:* cf. note to Act II, scene ii, l. 78.

53-55. *and in the fallow field ther's the deuill with a mans body vpon his backe in a white sheet:* Manly says: "This is Banks, of course, but has he the deer on his back? I think not." But Manly must be mistaken. In the first place, Banks himself is dressed in white and would not have been taken for the devil, since, to the Elizabethan, the devil was entirely black. In the second place, Banks, so far as we know, does not have the deer—he has the nuts. The true explanation of this allusion is found in the *Jest:*

> The prest, perceyuynge the tayller all in blake and a whyte thynge on his nek, had went [i.e., weened] it had ben the deuyel berying away the spyryte of the dede man that was beryed, and ran away as fast as he coude, takyng the way down towarde the myl, and the sexten ronnyng after hym.

Apparently, then, a part of the *Jest* which was once also a part of the play has been lost.

57. *If shee be a woman, the sheets damne her:* see Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses,* p. 98:

> For the punishment appointed for whordom now is so light that they esteeme not of it; thei feare it not, they make but a iest of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete before the congregation, and that somtymes not past an howre or two in a day, hauing their vsuall garments vnderneth, as commonly they haue?

61-63. I understand this passage to be an allusion to Banks, in his white coat, whom Blague saw sneaking away from the church-porch. See l. 49. The sexton, of course, saw Banks before he left the church-porch.

71. Another illustration of Blague's nautical vocabulary. The exact meaning of *roomer* is uncertain; Halliwell's explanation, quoted by W. P., seems best suited to the context: *to cry roomer:* "to give the command to tack about before the wind."

Act V, Scene i

S. D. The textual confusion evident in this act leaves unexplained the presence of Bilbo (ll. 273-277). Since he is a servant to the Clare family, it seems not too bold to have him enter with Sir Arthur.

1-30. All the editors except Manly follow the assignment of speeches as given in the quartos. He explains: "It is absurd that

Jerningham [Sir Ralph] should speak lines 10-16, whereas they are entirely appropriate to Sir Arthur Clare. I have, therefore, changed the assignment of speeches in all previous editions, as indicated below." I here give Manly's reassignments: ll. 1-2 to Sir Arthur; 3-6 to Sir Ralph; 7-18 to Sir Arthur; 19-26 to Sir Ralph; and 27-30 to Sir Arthur. Manly is correct, I believe, in the opinion that ll. 10-16 should not be assigned to Sir Ralph. It is not necessary, however, to alter all of the assignments in order to clear up the confusion, especially since evidence of how the error seems to have come about is visible in the 1608 Quartos. (It should be added here that Manly did not see any of the 1608 Quartos and that he prepared his text seven years before the Facsimile was made.) My assignments and explanations follow: ll. 1-2 to Sir Ralph: there is no reason why this speech should be given to Sir Arthur in preference to Sir Ralph; 3-6 to Sir Arthur: there is no evidence to indicate that this speech is incorrectly assigned; 7-8 to Sir Ralph: these two lines are obviously a reply to the last line of Sir Arthur's preceding speech—*Goe to, goe to, those dayes are gone with vs*—and they read:

> Sir Arthur, Sir Arthur, care go with those dayes,
> Let 'am euen goe together, let 'am goe!

The following line is a part of the sentence which ends with l. 11; hence to assign ll. 10-16 to Sir Arthur, one must begin the speech with l. 9 or else follow Manly in altering the assignment of the two preceding speeches, thus giving to Sir Arthur ll. 7-16. But ll. 8 and 9 should not be given to the same character inasmuch as l. 9 is, if not a direct reply to, certainly a different thought from l. 8. In fact, l. 8 not only ends the thought, but also, I believe, the speech. This conjecture is supported by the following bibliographical evidence: l. 9 is set in four spaces from the left-hand margin in the 1608 Quartos, and the 1608 Quartos reveal no other instance of set-in lines except those, of course, which begin new speeches. The fact that the name of the speaker is not given can be of little importance in view of the knowledge that there are many other instances in which the name of the speaker is likewise omitted (cf. Act I, scene iii, l. 31; Act II, scene ii, l. 20; Act II, scene ii, l. 22; and Act II, scene iii, l. 49). Furthermore, a survey of the lines which begin with *Tis* seems to show that this word is one of the author's favorites for beginning a new speech. There are fifteen lines beginning with *Tis* (Prologue, l. 9; Induction, l. 9; Act I, scene i, l. 10; Act I, scene i, l. 30; Act I, scene i, l. 45; Act I, scene ii, l. 34; Act II,

scene i, l. 58; Act II, scene iii, l. 6; Act III, scene i, l. 24; Act III, scene ii, l. 169; Act IV, scene ii, l. 46; Act V, scene i, l. 9; Act V, scene i, l. 161; Act V, scene i, l. 194; Act V, scene i, l. 268). Of these fifteen, twelve (thirteen, if my conjecture be accepted) are the first lines of speeches. Line 9 of the Prologue and line 24 of Act III, scene i, are not. This incorrect assignment of ll. 7-18, inclusive, to Sir Ralph naturally led the printer into error when he came to the three following speeches, ll. 19-26, 27-30, and 31. I accept Manly's reassignment of these three speeches.

19 ff. Alteration from verse to prose is common in the drama; however, the passage may originally have been all verse.

29. *firk:* i.e., beat, trounce, whip *(N.E.D.).*

41. *A Nun in approbation of her habit:* a novice, a nun, "in probation of her habit," more strictly speaking.

56-57. *doe . . . mee:* "Tell me the plain truth, for your calling forbids all hypocrisy, nor need you be indulgent toward me (*nor beare with me*): I am quite prepared to bear and to hear the whole truth" (W. P.). Col. suggests that *now* be read for *nor.* Deighton (*The Old Dramatists,* Second Series, p. 179) would read "nor bear *anger* with me."

57-58. *did I . . . warrant:* this seems to be further evidence that the scene in which Fabell played the part of Friar Hildersham was originally a part of the play; for if the audience had not witnessed the scene alluded to, the effect of this statement would have been lost. Manly thinks that this sentence indicates that the speech should be assigned to Sir Arthur; I can only add that Act III, scene i, ll. 113-116 make it appropriate also to Sir Ralph.

76-81. See note to ll. 57-58, above.

78. *unbanded marriage:* W. P. read *intended,* an unnecessary emendation, since "unbanded marriage" means one that has not become sealed; such is the marriage in question.

81. *breake our minds:* i.e., disclose our intentions.

87. *Did not you tell vs:* this specific reference to a definite statement in a conversation between Fabell, disguised as Hildersham, and the two fathers seems to confirm the conjecture that a scene representing such a meeting was once a part of the play.

93. See note to Act III, scene ii, ll. 142 ff.

94. *visitor:* an ecclesiastic appointed to visit the nunnery in order to prevent or remove abuses or irregularities. Cf. Act III, scene ii, ll. 61-68.

110. All previous editors leave this speech assigned to Sir Ralph, but I give it to Sir Arthur. In the preceding lines Benedic asserts: *I neuer saw you* [i.e., Sir Arthur], *sir, before this hower.* The logical person to reply is surely Sir Arthur. The names of the speakers are confused in ll. 106 and 107, and that there is reason to believe the confusion continued throughout the scene is evidenced by this line. Beginning with l. 112, therefore, I have given Sir Ralph's speeches to Sir Arthur. The editor of Q6 corrected the erroneous attributions in ll. 106 and 107, but he did so from the context of those lines.

112. Does not Sir Arthur wish to prove by Blague that Benedic did go to Chesson, and that consequently, both Hildersham and Benedic are lying? If so, he forgets all about his proof in the subsequent surprise at the changed inn signs.

125-127. Sir Ar: *Is not this the George? Before God, theres some villany in this.*
Cham: *Sfoote, our signes remooud; this is strange!*

These lines introduce the perplexing problem of the inn signs—a problem whose solution has caused considerable disagreement among modern editors. The complications can be traced to the corrupt text of the extant versions of *The Merry Devil,* in which original scenes have been omitted and unrelated scenes have been run together. Without the account preserved in the Pamphlet (see Appendix I, ll. 1114-1204), the allusions in the play would be unintelligible; and even with this account it is difficult to reconcile these allusions, not only with the prose record but also with each other. According to Brewer, the author of the Pamphlet, Smug is chased by the keeper and one assistant. In order to foil his pursuers he clambers upon the sign of the White Horse and impersonates Saint George, thus duplicating the sign of the rival inn of which Blague is the host. The keepers, seeing two Saint Georges, decide they are at Hodsdon, and leave Edmonton, as well as Smug, behind them. Let us survey the editorial comments. Although Proescholdt summarizes the Pamphlet, in part, in his article "Eine Prosaische Nachbildung Der 'Erzählung Des Müllers' Aus Chaucer's Canterbury Tales" (*Anglia,* VII, 1884, 116 ff.), in his and Warnke's edition of *The Merry Devil* no mention is made of the relation between the Pamphlet and the play as respects this particular scene. Their note to ll. 125-127 reads:

In order to mislead the two knights, Fabell and his companions seem to have interchanged the signs of the two inns, and to have

engaged Smug, in the disguise of Saint George, to stand over the door of the George. Only thus can we account for V. i. 278 where Smug says *I will be Saint George again.* Cf., besides, V. i. 280-281.

Walk., thirteen years later, notes:

> The signs have been changed. It appears from V. i. 278 that Smug has been disguised as St. George; but why the plot should have required two St. Georges is an unexplained mystery.

Manly merely states that "the confusion in regard to the means by which the wrathful pursuers were led to the wrong inn is inexplicable, even with the prose version before us." Brooke calls attention to the relation between the allusions in the play and the incident in the Pamphlet; then he adds:

> The object of the conspirators in the play was that the knights on their return should see only one Saint George—a false one—and so be decoyed into the wrong inn. What appears from V. i. 225-228 to have actually happened is that Smug removed the Saint George before Blague's inn altogether and then personated the saint by seating himself upon the sign of the horse before the inn opposite. Sir Ralph's allusion to two Saint Georges in V. i. 280-281 must, then, be a slip.

With Brooke, however, I must take issue. There is no evidence to show that the conspirators wanted the knights to see "only one Saint George." Furthermore, granted that the sign before Blague's inn was removed and that Smug did personate the saint by seating himself upon the White Horse, how would Brooke explain the chamberlain's exclamation in Act V, scene i, l. 127: *Sfoote, our signes remooud; this is strange?* It is the chamberlain of the White Horse Inn who speaks, and certainly there could be no reason for removing the sign of the White Horse if the ruse consisted simply of Smug's sitting upon it until the knights were decoyed into the wrong inn. Hop. does not think the allusion to the two Saint Georges is a slip, but that the author "intended to create the impression that there were two"; consequently, when Sir Ralph poses his question: *Did we not last night find two S. Georges here?,* "Fabell, to smooth the deception, assures him that there were two Saint Georges, and that Smug was one of them." This variance in opinion would confirm Manly's belief that "the confusion . . . is inexplicable." But let us turn now to the text of the play. The chamberlain of the rival inn, opposite the Saint George, exclaims

(Act V, scene i, l. 127): *Sfoote, our signes remooud; this is strange!* and notice a few moments later, in the dialogue between Sir Arthur and Blague (Act V, scene i, ll. 133-137):

Sir Ar: Mine host, mine host, we lay all night at the George in Waltham; but whether the George be your fee-simple or no, tis a doubtfull question: looke vpon your signe.

Blague: Body of Saint George, this is mine ouerthwart neighbor hath done this to seduce my blind customers.

and still further (Act V, scene i, ll. 225-228):

Sir Ar: Well, sir, for this your signe was remooued, was it?

Blague: Faith, wee followed the directions of the deuill, Master Peter Fabell; and Smug, Lord blesse vs, could neuer stand vpright since.

These lines point to but one conclusion: namely, the signs *were* removed. Yet there is some incontrovertible evidence that Smug did mount the White Horse. Brewer says that Smug's trick misled the keepers; in the play the two knights are misled, but here, apparently, by the changed signs. It is likely that Smug misled both groups in the play, and that the allusions to his misleading the keepers have been lost even as has the entire scene in which he misled the two knights. Let us consult the text of the play again (Act V, scene i, ll. 278-282):

Smug: . . . I will be Saint George againe.
Sir Ar: Take heed the fellow do not hurt himselfe.
Sir Ralph: Did we not last night find two S. Georges here?
Fab: Yes, Knights, this martialist was one of them.

An even more convincing piece of evidence that Smug did climb upon the White Horse is the allusion in Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters,* Act V, scene ii, ll. 108-111 (Bullen, *The Works of Thomas Middleton,* III, 350):

Follywit: Why, sirrah, do you use to bring gentlemen before us for riding away? What, will you have 'em stand still when they're up, like Smug upo' the white horse yonder?

Middleton's play was probably written in the spring of 1606 (cf. the edition by W. W. Pratt, 1931, unpublished Cornell thesis), and, as Hop. conjectures, the allusion is "possibly reminiscent of a stage revival of *The Merry Devil* at the Globe, between 1604 and 1606." Additional evidence from the play that Smug did bestride the White

Horse is to be found in these allusions: (1) Bilbo replies to Sir Arthur (Act V, scene i, l. 273): *I will to horse presently,* a statement which is a jest at Smug, for he turns to him and inquires (ll. 274-275): *how chaunce you cut so plaguely behind, Smug?* (2) Bilbo then tells him (l. 277): *thou art in another element* [i.e., air]; Smug replies: *I will be by and by* [i.e., instantly]; *I will be Saint George again.* And he immediately suits the action to the words by beginning to climb atop the White Horse.

As I understand the problem, two possible solutions of the confusion in the manner of deception practiced upon the knights suggest themselves. First, we may take the lines alluding to Smug upon the White Horse as belonging to the full-length play. Brewer, in the Pamphlet, explains that the sign of the White Horse was "not painted upon a board, as they used to be heere in the Citty, but fashioned out of timber, & sat gallantly over the signe poste." Such stage property, we may assume, belonged to the Globe. If, then, the play was cut down for a country tour, it is reasonable to suppose that stage properties such as a white horse "fashioned out of timber" would not be taken along, especially since a painted board, plus the device of interchanging the signs, could be used almost as effectively. Thus the lines alluding to the removal of the signs may belong to the shortened version and to this version alone. Second, the original version of the play may have included both the interchanging of signs and Smug's mounting the White Horse. The changing of the signs, we are told, was due to Fabell's trickery; and unless we allow this, he has next to nothing to do with the resolution of the plot. Smug may have changed the signs all by himself, and since they were heavy ("fashioned out of timber," be it remembered), the excessive weight kept him stooped for the remainder of the play. Thus he *could neuer stand vpright since.* Following Fabell's directions, therefore, he moved the sign of the George over to the White Horse Inn and that of the White Horse over to the George. But here he had the brilliant idea of being a Saint George himself; consequently, he climbed upon the White Horse. The keepers, Brian and Raph, came to Edmonton, saw the *two* Georges, decided they were at Hodsdon, and left Smug safe on his perch. But this was not all: the irate fathers also came to Edmonton, saw the *two* Saint Georges, and were thus decoyed into the wrong inn. When Smug dismounted, his discomfiture had been doubled, for sitting bestride the wooden horse had left him sore in the groin. He thus walked stooped and with his legs wide

apart. The allusion *how cut you so plaguely behind, Smug?* may refer to this ungainly posture.

As a conclusion to this discussion, let us once more examine the text. On the following morning the chamberlain of the White Horse Inn beholds, in surprise, the sign of the Saint George instead of the sign of the White Horse, and exclaims: *Sfoote, our signes remooud.* The scene shifts to the Saint George Inn, and Sir Arthur assures Blague that Sir Ralph and he stayed at the George in Waltham (i.e., at the inn with the sign of the Saint George), *"but whether the George be your fee-simple or no, tis a doubtful question* [doubtful because the inn from which Blague has just emerged does not have the sign of the Saint George, but that of the White Horse]; *looke vpon your signe* [i.e., the one you have at present]." Blague, who knows all about the trick, looks up in feigned surprise, then across to his own sign before the White Horse Inn, and exclaims as if in anger: ". . . *this is mine ouerthwart neighbor hath done this to seduce my blind customers. . . .*"

One point remains: that the sign of the White Horse Inn was erected in front of the Saint George Inn is shown by l. 278. The scene is before the George; Smug promises he *"will be Saint George againe";* immediately he begins to clamber up on the sign, and Sir Arthur warns: *"Take heed the fellow do not hurt himselfe."* Smug would not climb on the sign of the Saint George; nor would he "break" the scene by crossing the stage and climbing the sign in front of the White Horse Inn; besides, this sign *was* the Saint George.

S. D. See note to stage direction at beginning of Act V.

129. Some explanation of why I place the stage direction *Exit* after this line is necessary. The quartos and early editions have no stage directions; W. P., Walk., Brooke, Hop., and McIl. place *Exeunt* after l. 127. If they send the two knights off the stage at this point, however, they must return them two lines later. Manly believes that if anyone leaves the stage, it is the chamberlain; therefore, he suggests *Exit* after l. 127. Moreover, I am not allowing a new scene at this point, because I agree with Manly that the action is continuous and the stage is not cleared. Blague enters and immediately addresses the chamberlain; this he would not do if the chamberlain had summoned him. Then the chamberlain leaves the stage, following Blague's directions; thus the *Exit* after 129 rather than after 127.

130. *How now, my old Jennets, bauke my house, my castle:* the quartos read: "How now, my old Ienerts banke, my horse, my

castle." This passage was a crux for a long time. Steevens seems to have been the first to tackle the problem in Reed's edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays,* V, 300. He defends the reading *Ienerts banke,* explaining:

I once suspected this passage of corruption, but have found reason to change my opinion. The merry Host seems willing to assemble ideas expressive of *trust* and *confidence.* The old quartos begin the word *jenert* with a capital letter, and therefore we may suppose *Jenert's bank* to have been the shop of some banker in whose possession money could be deposited with some security. The Irish still say, as sure as *Burton's Bank;* and our own countrymen, as safe as the *Bank of England.* We might read my *house,* instead of my *horse,* as the former agrees better with *Castle.* The services of a *horse* are of all things the most uncertain.

Dyce (*The Works of Thomas Middleton,* V, 537) cites from Nares' *Glossary:*

It has been conjectured that there was a bank called *Jenert's,* so famous as to be proverbial for security; but it remains to be shown that any country-bank existed in the seventeenth century; much more that they were so common as for one to be famous above the rest. . . . Can it be a misprint for *Ermen's* bank, or the old Roman road passing through Edmonton, which might have been written *"Irmint's"?*

Dyce himself suggests that we should read *"jennets* (i.e., cavaliers, for so the word is sometimes used)," and for *banke, bauk* (i.e., balk). He accepts Steevens's emendation of *house* for *horse,* as do all later editors. The emendation of *bauk* for *banke* is also suggested by Deighton in *The Old Dramatists* (Second Series), pp. 180-181. *N.E.D.* gives *bauk* as a variant spelling of *balk.* Haz. rejects *Ienerts Banke,* terming it "rank nonsense." He queries: "How now, my old jennets back? my house (is) my castle." Fleay's conjecture, no less amusing than ingenious, reads:

I have also found a trace of the name Oldcastle in the unexplained passage in the last scene, in which no entrance of Sir John is marked. The Host says,—"How now my old Jenert's Bank, my horse, my castle!"—I conjecture that the MS. from which this was printed stood thus:

> "Old J. enters
> castle, Bankes Host. How now, my, my, my horse."

The Host is astounded at the trick played with his sign. The printer, not seeing this, thrust the marginal directions into the text, whence the astounding reading of the editions.

W. P. suggest for *banke, bauk* (i.e., balk), apparently believing that they are the first to suggest this emendation. Walk. agrees with W. P. and describes their emendation as a "simple and happy conjecture of *bauk* (the old spelling of *balk*) for *bank*." Thus the problem seems to have hinged on that most common of errors in Elizabethan printing: the inverted *u*. Professor Gayley's emendation appears in Manly's edition:

> Tenants is correlative to Host, "What my old tenants shun my house!" Cf. for "Tenant," *Lear,* IV. i. 14; for the rest, Host, speaking of his "tenant," Falstaff, in *M.W.W.,* IV. v. 5: "There's his chamber, his house, his castle."

Manly adds: "Nothing could be more satisfactory or more certainly right." Olip. accepts Gayley's emendation; Hop. and McIl. read *jennets.* Professor J. Q. Adams argues convincingly, I think, that *jennets* is to be preferred to *tenants:* "The word *tenants* suggests permanent residence; they are *not* his tenants, and that is what the host is complaining about." It should be added that *jennets* (i.e., horses) is in keeping with Blague's picturesque vocabulary and may have been suggested by the word *bauke* (i.e., to shy at). I can add one passage in support of the emendation of *bauk* (balk) for *bank:* cf. Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness,* Act III, scene ii, ll. 120-121:

> O! Master Cromwell, you are a stranger here,
> And often balk my house; faith, y'are a churl.

136. *ouerthwart:* possibly a *double entendre,* i.e., my neighbor who is *perverse,* as well as who lives *opposite me.*

138. See note to Act II, scene i, ll. 7-8.

139. *yellowes: N.E.D.* gives *jaundice* and quotes this passage. However, a stronger meaning seems necessary.

141-143. *The villanous . . . share:* "The world is a manger, from which each jade takes as much as possible without regard to the rights of others, while the ostler cheats all" (Walk.). Query: Is this a reference to William Ostler, the actor, of the King's Company at the Globe? (Adams); cf. Nungezer, *Dictionary of Actors,* pp. 261-262.

143. *Haue wee Comedies in hand:* play imagery. Manly thinks *Comedies* is suggested by the preceding *plays his part;* also, I may

add, by the reference to *fourth share.* The Host is aware of the change of inn signs and knows, of course, that "comedies are in hand."

145. *moylingst:* most toilsome.

152-153. *Why . . . footing:* we are not told how the venison reached the inn; perhaps the use of the *Jest* as a source produced the confusion. Cf. Introduction, pp. 23-25.

153. *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus:* cf. Terence, *Eun.,* IV. v. 6. Blague knows his classical authors; he quotes from Virgil in Act I, scene ii, ll. 14-15.

159. *yong Iuuentus:* Brooke, following W. P., thinks this is an allusion to the well-known moral interlude, *Lusty Juventus,* but Manly observes that " 'juventus' and 'lusty juventus' were often applied to young men. There is no reason to suspect here a particular reference to the old interlude."

161. *president:* an old spelling for *precedent,* a legal draft, from which copies were often made.

165. *Orchard chamber:* the rooms of inns were named, not numbered. Cf. *1 Henry IV,* Act II, scene iv, l. 30: "Score a pint of bastard in the Half-moon."

168-169. Manly may be correct in thinking these speeches are incorrectly assigned.

173. I agree with Manly that the priest should enter here in response to Blague's request. W. P., Walk., and Brooke omit any mention of his entrance. Hop. and Olip. have him enter with the other characters, S.D. after l. 179. Adams suggests that proof of Sir John's entrance is found in *now,* the last word of the query: *What can you say now?* In other words, Sir John's presence is adequate proof that the marriage is entirely legitimate.

177-179. *thou art . . . eternally:* Walk. thinks that Sir Ralph is addressed, and 'That his indignation is pretended . . . and in punishment of the pretense the redness of his face, betokening passion, will endure forever." Hop., agreeing with Walk., explains: "Apparently the Host does not believe in the genuineness of Jerningham's anger; being conscious of his deceit, his face has 'coloured up,' i.e., become red and burning—like Bardolf's nose—and therefore he shall carry fire in it forever." Such an explanation, however, seems rather farfetched; what reasons could Sir Ralph have for taking part in a plot against Sir Arthur? Olip. would have Smug enter before l. 176, and thus be addressed by Blague. I must agree with Fleay, though,

in the belief that Blague addresses Sir John; it is common knowledge that priests were always subjected to jests about their red noses; moreover, Sir John was an actor in this matter of the marriage.

S. D. *Frank Jerningham* should be added to this group; cf. ll. 217-219.

180. Smug enters in time to hear the last of Blague's speech; being somewhat inebriated, he picks up the dialogue.

181. *Trinidado sacke:* apparently a potent wine imported from Trinidad. I can discover no other reference to a wine of this name. Hop., quoting Halliwell, *Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine,* 1600:

> I care no more to kill them in braveado,
> Than for to drink a pipe of Trinedado,

adds: "Query—Is the Host alluding to this poem? His next words are: Is any man here *humorous?* i.e., perverse, capricious." But perhaps "to drink a pipe of Trinedado" means simply "to smoke a pipe of Trinidado tobacco." Besides, it is Smug and not the Host who is speaking!

181-182. *We . . . now:* "Apparently Brian has agreed not to prosecute for the venison" (Manly). Query: Because the thieves aided him in foiling the irate knights?

183. *sacke on the fire:* an allusion to the "burning" or heating of sack. Cf. *Twelfth Night,* Act II, scene iii, l. 206.

186 ff. This picture of Smug is similar to that drawn by Brewer in the prose account; see especially, ll. 316 ff., 752 ff., and 1309 ff.

186. *picke staffe:* i.e., pikestaff.

189. *shalls:* a colloquialism for "shall we"?

190-191. *I could fight now for all the world like a Cockatrices ege:* "As a cockatrice is known to fight after death, it might also fight while in the egg, but most editors regard this as an allusion to the deadly power of the cockatrice's eye; 'ege' may well be a misprint" (Manly). Hop. suggests that perhaps the author had in mind Isaiah 59:5: "They hatch cockatrice's eggs, and weave the spider's web; he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper." In neither of the following two passages from Dekker is *egg* a misprint for *eye: Satiromastix* (Pear., I, 202):

> What will he bee fifteene weekes about this
> Cockatrices egge too?

Also *Lanthorne and Candlelight* (Gros., III, 267):

> Shee is the Cockatrice that hatcheth all these
> egges of euills.

The quarto reading of *ege,* then, is probably correct.

192. *skipper:* taken by W. P., who cite from *The Taming of the Shrew,* Act II, scene i, l. 341, and by Hop. to mean "a boisterous young fellow." But Smug was not a young fellow. The word merely belongs to Blague's nautical vocabulary.

195. *witnesse:* Frank Jerningham (?).

199-200. *you cannot answere:* "Answer for at law" (Manly).

211-212. These lines imply more of Fabell's aid than the text of the play, in its present state, contains.

213. *Is't euen so:* having become excited over the change of the inn signs, Sir Arthur failed to clear up the confusion connected with Friar Hildersham and Benedic; hence Milliscent's statement provokes this query.

216-217. Walk. explains: "Did you help in the plot to defeat the plan of marriage between yourself and Milliscent?"

222. *couy of Partridges:* couple (i.e., bride and groom) who are on their knees.

225-228. See note to Act V, scene i, ll. 125-127 above.

237-238. I am unable to explain this allusion to the vicar of Waltham Abbey.

247. *I usde some pretty sleights:* what these *pretty sleights* were we do not know, but they were most likely represented in the full version of the play.

250. *performancy:* this passage is the only illustration of the word recorded in *N.E.D.*

258-259. Creizenach, writing of the dramatists who use sorcerers in their plays (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas,* IV, 212), comments:

> Daneben verwerteten die Bühnendichter zu wiederholten Malen die volkstümlichen Traditionen von Zauberern, die sich die höllischen Geister dienstbar gemacht hatten, Traditionen, in denen dieser Bund noch nicht die tragische Schlusswendung nimmt, wie später in der Faustsage, in denen vielmehr die Zauberer lediglich als gute Gesellen erscheinen, die mit Hilfe ihrer magischen Künste allerlei lustige Schwänke ausführen und ihren Schutzbefohlenen in den verschiedensten Nöten des Lebens beistehen; besonders gerne helfen sie den treuen Liebenden, die ersehnte Vereinigung herbeizuführen. Wir finden in diesen Stücken das einheimische Leben anmutig und be-

haglich geschildert und den Reiz dieser Schilderungen durch das Hineinragen des phantastisch-wunderbaren Elements noch erhöht.

263. *Sir Iohn:* the quartos read *Sir George,* and in l. 278 for *Saint George* the first three quartos read *Sir George.* Brooke is led to believe, therefore, that in this passage the Host may be jocularly addressing Smug, who played the part of Saint George.

noise: a company of musicians.

264. *ert:* i.e., ere it.

268. *Hebrew:* another of the Host's odd terms; however, "Hebrew" was generally a term of reproach. Cf. *I Henry IV,* Act II, scene iv, l. 198: "You rogue, they were bound . . . or I am a Jew else, an Ebrew Jew."

270-271. Evidently Milliscent's elopement must have been discovered after she left the nunnery. The knights were watching for such a trick (cf. Act III, scene ii, ll. 152-155). Perhaps they also intercepted Raymond's man (cf. Act III, scene ii, ll. 165-166).

272. *knights:* why the plural? Sir Ralph Jerningham is the only other knight present. Manly suggests that the plural form is a misprint; but in this concluding scene I suspect that Sir Richard was also present.

274. If Smug actually left the stage at l. 191, we cannot be certain when he re-entered. This uncertainty probably results from the fusion of two scenes. It is possible that Smug's *exit* (l. 191) may have been left in by oversight.

275. *plaguely:* cf. *N.E.D. plaguily:* Usually indicating a degree of some quality that troubles one by its excess; but sometimes humorous, or merely forcibly intensive. For a discussion of the whole phrase, *cut so plaguely behind,* see note to Act V, scene i, ll. 125-127 above.

276. *founder:* to disable, to cause to become lame, *N.E.D.*

278. *by and by:* immediately.

278-282. These allusions are to an episode that is not present in the abbreviated text of the play, although it is preserved in the prose account. See note to Act V, scene i, ll. 125-127, above.

282. *martialist:* remember that Smug was eager to fight (ll. 186-187); probably an allusion also to Smug's impersonation of Saint George.

283. The quartos ascribe this speech to *Cla.* I give it to Sir Arthur rather than to Harry. So does Brooke.

THE

Life and Death of the merry *Deuill of Edmonton.*

With the pleasant prancks of *Smug* the Smith, Sir *Iohn*, and mine Host of the George, about the stealing of Venison.

By T. B.

Printed by *T. P.* for *Francis Faulkner* dwelling ouer against St. *Margarets hill* in *Southwarke*. 1631.

APPENDICES

I

The Life and Death of the Merry Deuill of Edmonton

[On October 22, 1607, Arthur Johnson entered *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* in the Stationers' Register; on April 5, 1608, Joseph Hunt and Thomas Archer entered *The Life and Death of the Merry Deuill of Edmonton,* a black-letter pamphlet containing the adventures of Peter Fabell, Smug, Sir John, Banks, and Mine Host of the George Inn. From photostats I here reprint the earliest extant edition of the pamphlet, that of 1631 now in the Huntington Library; errors in the text show that it was hastily printed. I offer this reprint because it explains much that is left unexplained in *The Merry Devil.* The pamphlet was last reprinted in full in 1819.

The title page appears on A2 recto; *Smugs Ghost,* a poem not in black letter, begins on A3 recto and ends on A3 verso; the prose account runs from A4 recto through F4 recto. The word *Finis* and the vignette at the end of the poem, as well as the headpiece of the prose tract, suggest that *Smugs Ghost* is a separate piece. In the original the titles of the anecdotes, the proper names, and the scattered bits of verse appear in roman; in reprinting I have italicized the titles.

The authorship of the tract has not been established. I have followed other editors of *The Merry Devil,* however, in taking the author's initials, "T. B.," as belonging to Anthony (Tony) Brewer. Thomas Purfoot, junior, printed the pamphlet for Francis Faulkner, who, as early as 1627, had set up a bookshop near St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark.]

With the pleasant prancks of *Smug* the Smith,
Sir *Iohn,* and mine Host of the George,
about the stealing of Venison.
By T. B.
[Woodcut of Smug on white horse, with "Mine Host of the George" and "Sir Iohn" standing nearby]
Printed by T.P. for Francis Faulkner dwelling ouer against St. *Margarets hill* in *South-warke.* 1631
[Head-ornament]

Smugs Ghost.

VVHen with the ayrie essence sempiterne,
You might a body (now is dust discerne)

I was of many set by for my mirth:
Good company I lou'd with all my heart,
And like a boone companion playde my part,
(It was fore-spoken at my houre of birth)

Hart-eating sorrow nere with me remainde
While I your shape (as I haue said[)] retainde [:]
My cogitations were all ayrie, light:
I neare lou'd hoorder, nor the hoording sinne [,]
That coyne my labour brought me one day in
I spent in pleasure ere the next daies night.

Mad Maister *Peter,* and my red fac'd *Host*[,]
My dapper Parson, whom of all I most
Entirely loued for his merry vaine:
And Bancks the miller that poore thin cheek'd knaue[,]
That holpe to beare my body to the graue,
were men of mettle: of a perfect straine.

These men and I, made vp a matchlesse crew
For merry meetings till the ground look'd blew,
Wee'd sit and send our soaking healths about,

Weed sometime theeue together in the darke,
To fetch a feast of Venison from the Parcke.

Then grant my ghost this, though our bones be rottē
Our names may liue & neuer be forgotten.

FINIS.

[Vignette]

[Head-ornament]

The Induction, with a Description of Maister Peter Fabell.

Maister Peter Fabell, otherwise called the merry Deuill of Edmunton (for the many excellent ieasts he did) and was a man of good discent: and a man, either for his gifts externall, or internall, inferior to few. For his person he was absolute. Nature had neuer showne the fulnesse of her skill, more

in any then in him. For the other, I meane his great learning (including many misteries) hee was as amply blest as any.

Very pleasant, kinde, & free-hearted was hee, to, or with his familiars: very affable, and curteous to strangers, and very liberall, full of Commisseration and pittie to the poore and needy: both abroad from his purse, and at home from his Table. In his time very well knowne to him, and sometime (in pastime) very familiar with him, were these men: Oliuer Smug, Sir Iohn the merry Parson, Bancks the Miller, and mine Host of the George: in whose companies many time for recreation, he would spend some houres. In Edmonton he was borne, liued and died in the raigne of King H. the 7.

How Maister Peter deceiued the Diuell with a Candles end.

AT the first entrance of M. Peter into the Art of Magick, by charmes, spells, and incantations, he raised a spirit, and with the spirit concluded, that if he would be obedient to him, serue, helpe, and further him, at such times, and in such thinges, as hee should commaund, his soule should bee his reward. This Fire-brand of Hell (with great signe of reioycing) yeelded and serued him (as his slaue or vassaile) with very great diligence, in many matters and imployments. VVhen this offictious seruant thought hee had beene at his commaunde long inough, (for no terme or time was set at the contract) hee demaunded his commaunders soule, as the rewarde of his paynes. VVhy (sayde Master PETER) I haue made thee a promise, thou shouldst haue it, and thou shalt haue it, but not yet: when it hath left my body (by my death) take it to thee, till then thou mayest not haue it, so rest thee contented. Then the spirit beganne to threaten, and terrifie him to make him set a time of payment for his pleasure: and so affrighted him, that hee knew not what or how to answere him. Come (quoth the Deuill) be breefe, for Lucifer euery minute, lookes for that soule of thine. Is there no remedy (quoth Maister Peter) wilt thou allow mee no time, to set my businesse in order, and take my leaue of my friends ere I goe? allow mee some small time for

that, and doe thy will. VVhy how long time (quoth the Deuill?[)] desirest thou I should allow thee? why ifaith (quoth master Peter[)] no long time: spare me but till this inche-long end of candle (pointing to the Candle burning in his study) [burns out] and take my soule. VVell (quoth the Deuill) though by my charge I can hardly stay a minute, Ile stay so long: about it presently. If I neglect or ore-slip my time (qd. M. Peter) take thou the aduantage of it: yet one request more thou must grant me. VVhat is that (qd. the deuil) Marry this (qd. M. Peter) to confirme thy promise with an oath: I am very loath to trust thee on thy bare word for all the world reputes thee but a knaue: therefore come sweare to forebeare mee till this candle is burned. By Hell I will (qd. the Deuill) and by great Lucifer, As I hope to draw downe [a] thousand soules to the deepe Abisse (the place of my abode) I will forbeare thee till that candle is burned. Then Maister Peter, presently after his hellish protestation, put the candle out, and into his pocket: looke heere (quoth hee) till this is burnt, thou maiest not claime my soule: Ile keepe this safe enough from burning out and so keepe that thou lookst for safe enough. Go I command thee, and tell thy proud Lord Lucifer, how finely I haue ouerreached thee.

VVhen the Deuill saw he was so cunningly deceiued by Maister PETER, with many bitter execrations he left him.

How Maister Peter deceiued the Deuill againe.

Not long after the Deuill had bin thus deceiued by the merry Deuill, Maister Peter Fabell, hee went againe to him, and finding him a sleepe, tooke the end of the candle (before spoken of) out of his pocket, and awaked him: when he had so done, he shewed him the end of the candle.

Looke heere (sayd hee) heere is that thou keptst to keepe me from my right (thy soule I meane) when this is burnt, thy soule must burne with mine: Ile quickely burne it now (Ile warrant thee.)

VVhen Maister Peter saw he had lost his candle, (vpon the losse of which lay the losse of his soule, if his policie had not

once more helped him out) he intreated him to spare him a little longer.

No, no (sayd the Deuill,[)] all intreates are vaine, thou hast deceiued me once, thou shalt deceiue me no more. Tis a good world, when men are so cunning in deceit, as to deceiue the Deuill: but it is no matter thou art so much the redier for me.

Yet heere me speake (quoth Maister Peter) and as thou likest my speech so deale with me.

VVell be breefe then (quoth the Deuill) what hast thou now to say?

No more but this (qd. Maister Peter) if thou wilt spare [me] till my timely death, put that thou seekest into thy hands, Ile labor all the time I haue to liue for Hells aduantage: Ile beare more soules along with me to Hell then twenty of your cunningst Deuills shall.

Shall I once more trust thee (quoth the Diuell) on thy word? well, sweare, VVhy (sayd Maister Peter) by the blacke riuer, Lucifer thy Lord sweares by, I sweare I will: and when I am buried, either within the Church, without the Church, in the Church porch, Church-yard Street, field, or high way, take thou my soule.

VVell (quoth the Deuill) in hope thou wilt gaine me many soules to thine, take thy rest, and so left him.

Many yeares after when Maister Peter Fabell by his white haires, weakenesse, aches, and such like signes perceiued he could not liue long: he went and digd his death-bed in the Church wal, and there rested day & night hartyly praying & repenting him of all the euill he had committed.

VVhen the hower was well nigh come, that should seperate his soule and body, the Deuill went to him againe and blam'd him for neglecting his businesse by promise, and withal tould him he was come for his soule. VVen Maister Peter heard that word, hee presently started vp and charged him to depart, my soule (sayd he) thou comest too soone, and yet to[o] late to haue it: he that redeemed my soule hath took't to keepe, thou canst not haue it.

Didst thou not sweare (qd. the fiend) that I should haue thy soule at y^e^ houre of death? thou didst, and I will haue it. I (sayd Maister Peter) when I am buried either within the Church, without the Church, in the Church-porch[,] Church-yard, street, field, or high way, take thou my soule.

See foolish fiend thou art deceiued againe, this hole is my graue, If this be either within the Church, without the Church, in the Church porch[,] Church yard, street, field, or high-way, my soule is thine: thou seest it is not, therefore I charge thee (so deceiued) depart. Still the Deuill was very eager on him for his soule, till at last, by his earnest praires & zealous Invocations he forst him to run roaring to hel againe without it.

How Maister Peter Fabell, punished a Fryer and his Lemon for their knauery.

MAister Peter Fabell one morning very early, walking in the fields (as his custome was, to meditate by himselfe) spied a Fryer at prayers upon his beads, very deuotly, when Maister Peter saw him so earnest in his praiers he went to him, & demanded of him what his reason was, that his chamber would not serue, for his prayers as well as that place. Oh! sir (said the Fryer) all places are alike to me for this businesse, & all times, for I pray when the pricke of conscience commes upon me, in what place, or at what time soeuer. I commend thee much (quoth Maister Peter) thou art an honest fellow, and so for that time they parted.

The next morning Maister Peter went againe: & againe found this Fryer in the place where he left him, y^e^ morning before so deuoutly praying, but not at that holy exercise, y^e^ spirit did not mooue him, vnlesse the euil spirit mooued him, for instead of his booke and beads, he had got a wench, and sat colling her so close, and kissing her so thicke, kisse vpon kisse, y^t^ she could hardly fetch her wind for him. A good while stood M. Peter behind a hollow tree vnseene, seeing them ticke and toy together, at last to fright them from their venery, he went into the tree and with a heauy hollow voice,

cried out to the Fryer in this manner: Frier, Frier, Frier, the Frier hearing a voice, presently started vp, and looked round a bout him to see if he could finde the Maister of that tongue y^{t} called him: but in vaine he stood looking for he stood farre enough from his eye, though he were close to his ears. VVhen the Fryer had stood a good while looking about him, first on y^{e} one side, then on the other, and could spy no body, like a kind letcherous bald-pate, very handsomely, or rather very knauishly, he went to his wench againe. Hee was no sooner layed downe, but Maister Peter y^{e} second time, cried out (to disturb him) Fryer, fryer, Fryer. At this second call the Fryer halfe affrighted, started vp againe, and lookt about him (a tip toe) to see if he could finde a body to that voice: but he found none.

Now our Lady defend vs (quoth the Frier to his wench) what voice is this that calls on me so oft? Didst not thou heare it? yes faith sweeting (quoth she) I heard some body call to thee: canst thou not see him?

No faith chucke (quoth the Fryer) I can see no man: and yet surely this voice, is the voice of a man. But it is no matter, let it be what it will, if we cannot see it sure we cannot feele it. Come chucke let's busse and be merry, be of good comfort and crosse thy selfe, and I warrant thee safe for a farthing, downe lay ould bald-pate againe: but before he could give her three kisses, the voice raised him the third time, crying as before, Fryer, Fryer, Fryer. Then the Fryers face beganne to bewray his feare: he had no more colour in his face, at that time, (though at all other times he had coloure enough) then one of these fine whay fac'd oate-meale eaters, or a wench troubled with greene sickenesse.

Fryer, frier, frier, (said Maister Peter) (still keeping himselfe close in the hollow tree) hee that sees thee now, vnseene of thee, sees at all times, in all places, and all these thy actions.

Heere yesterday I saw thee at thy prayers verie deuotly, with thy booke and beades[:] is this the booke thou bringest to pray on now? doth the pricke of conscience mooue thee to doe this?

speake thou blacke sinner. There thou hast red thy damnation without present repentance, and pennance. Therefore presently, both of you, if you respect more the good of your soules, then of your bodyes, by the pennance I shall appoynt you, purge your selues: when the Fryer and his wench heard these wordes, they were verilie perswaded in their mindes that it was the voice of an Angell[:] they both kneeled downe, very reuerently together, and sayd, thy will be done: appoynt our pennance, and we are ready (with all willingness) to indure it.

Then (sayde Maister Peter) you both shall presently be whipt, from this place (the place where you offended) into the Town and about the town. This suffer & desire you to be done by the next man comes neere you, and this sin is forgiuen you, refuse this, & despairing die damd wretches.

This or what else it shall please thee to inflict or lay vpon vs, for this sinne (quoth the Fryer) we will patiently suffer.

Then Maister Peter presently stept out of the hollow tree, and went (very cunningly) round about on the backeside of a hedge, and came directly vpon them, as if he had ment to passe by them.

As soone as euer they saw him, they very humbly on their knees tould him, that in that place they had offended, and for that offence, they were by the voice of an Angell, commanded to take present pennance, or their soules could not be saued.

And what (saide Maister Peter) is the pennance commaunded?

Marry this sir (said the Fryer) to be whipt by the next man came neare vs, from this place (the place where we offended) to the towne, and about the towne, and this sin should be forgiuen vs. If we refuse this (this was our heauie sentence) to liue in despaire, and die damd wretches.

This therefore is our request sir (you being the man, by the Angell appointed) that you would performe your part appointed, while we (very patiently) beare the reward of our wickednesse.

Well (quoth Maister Peter) though I am loath to play the beadle, Ile doe thy request, you shall not be damd for want of a whipping.

To be short, Maister Peter tied the right hand of the frier, and the left hand of his wench together, and hauing so done (with a sound smarting rod of willow) Ierkt them to the towne before him.

There in the view of all the people, he lasht them from one end of the towne to the other, telling them at euery second or third stripe, of the haniousnesse of their fault. VVhen he had thus soundly whipt the lecherous bald-pate, and his Lemman, with most pittifull bloudy backs, he left them, and loosing their hands, he gaue the Fryer this caueat.

Take heed good Fryer, Of Venus fire,
You see the hire, Of foule desire.

And so farwell, I haue done your request, if at any time you haue occasion to vse me, in such a peece of seruice, command me. Away went he very hartily laughing, and the Fryer and his wench, very heauily weeping.

How Smug woone a wager of Maister Peter Fabell by a tricke that he did.

As one day Maister Peter Fabell, (an excellent Scholler and well seene in the Arte of Magicke) was conferring with certaine of his friends, about certaine busines and imployments, Smug being in the hearing of them, betweene druncke and sober (for he had beene plying the pitcher in Maister Peters cellar) ran nodding in amongst thẽ, and the very first word he spake to them was, how doe you my Maisters. They being in very serious talke, vnwilling to be disturbed with his foolish babling, with verie faire wordes, requested him to leaue them a little, and within halfe an hower (or such a thing) they would giue him the hearing of that he had to say to them. But he (like an importunate begger) tould them he would not leaue them till he had spoke his minde to Maister Peter.

VVhen they saw there was no remedy, but he would haue his will, come (sayd Maister Peter) honest Oliuer, be breefe,

vtter thy ignorance roundly, what hast thou to say to me now? Marry [(]quoth Smug[)], Maister Peter, I heere say you are a very cunning Gentleman, and that you haue done as many fine trickes and feates in your time as ere a Iugler in all Europe has done, what will you say now, if a plaine fellow, a hard-handed laborer, a poore leatherne-apron-wearer, do such a cunning tricke, as you M. Peter with the helpe of all your great gogle eide, bottle nosd, blobber-lipt, bladder cheekd, beetle-browed, ore headed, detestable Deuils, cannot doe the like. VVhy honest Smug [(]qd. M. Peter[)] who or where is he that will do this? marry (qd. Smug) I am he. Art thou he [(]quoth M. Peter[)]? who would thinke thou hadst such trickes in thy budget? I prethee Smug tell me, dost not thou (as thou saist I doe) vse the helpe of some infernall? hast thou no Deuill in thy tricke? come tell me: Deuill (qd. Smug) marry God blesse me M. Peter, I cannot indure to looke vpon these filthy foule-mouthed fire-spitters, no Maister Peter, what I do, I will doe of my extraordinary witt and inuention. VVell let's (heare qd. M. Peter) what is it you will doe? Marry this Ile doe [(]qd. Smug,[)] Ile set a candle burning in the midst of this roome where we all are, open and easie to be seen as my hand: This candle M. Togood shall see[,] M. Dauby, M. Douty, Mistris Friskin, and my man Ralph heere yet you shall not see it, masse Smug (quoth M. Peter) if thou canst doe such a tricke, thou putst me downe indeed. Come begin, let vs see it done, nay first (quoth Smug) let vs haue a lay vpon it, Ile not shew my skill for nothing. Agreed (qd. M. Peter) what shall the wadger be? why faith (qd. Smug) M. Peter you know my minde for that, I loue alwayes when I make a wager, rather to haue it wet then drie, for you know M. Peter I am dry of my selfe, and ye say y^{e} word, the wager shall be a dozen of double ale, you know I am merry Smug, and merry Smug must haue his merry go down, or els he is no body. VVell I agree (qd. M. Peter) heere is my hand, if thou perform'st what thou hast sayde, Ile loose & Ile pay it. Then Smug cald for a candle & a candle stick which when he had, he placed M. Peter in y^{e} middle of the

roome, & set the candle-stick with the candle burning in it vpon his head: now M. Peter [(]sayd hee[)] do you see this candle, why no (qd. M. peter) how should I see it? is it possible for a man to see the crowne of his head? you cannot see it then [(]qd. Smug[)], no, I cannot see it [(]sayd hee[)]. Then Smug demaunded of the rest (before named) whether they did see it or no, they all answered I, asking how could they chuse but see, why looke you (quoth Smug) al these see it, and yet you cannot see it, they say they cannot chuse but see, and yet you say it is impossible for you to see it.

Come Maister Peter, you know what you haue lost? and there had been a Kingdome laide on it, when Maister peter saw how prettily Smug had ouer reached him, he (smiling) sent for his losses, and in pastime made Smug take his well woon liquor, so soundly that he lay by the walls for y^{t} night.

HOw Smug when He was mad drunke, would needs go to fight with the shadowe of a sworde and Buckeler.

SMug one day being angred amongst a company of true drunkards (like himselfe) came chafing out of the Ale-house, like a mad man (as you know Drunkards and mad men are not much vnlike) vowing to be reuenged, or hee would neuer drinke draught of good drinke againe, as long as he had a day to liue, and so chafing, reeled homeward, as fast as his leggs would giue him leaue.

This reeling infirmity, threw poore Smug from poste to poste and from wall to wall, heere he knockt his face against one stocke, there against another, till halfe the wilde blood in his body, was runne out at his nose.

Still on he staggered, till he came to a seate (neare his home) vnder a signe of the Sword and buckler: where hee sate a while to rest him, and as he sate like an honest man, carefull to keepe both ends together, cast vp (as neare as he could without either pen or counters) what he had receiued in the day before.

But all his casting could not cast the remembrance of his

quarrell out of his minde: for stil he sate railing against his pot companions most greiuously [*sic*], calling them Scoundrels, Scabes, Slaues, Knaues, and perpetually damd drunken Rogues.

As he sate thus fretting and chafing, vowing to be reuenged, hee spyed (as he thought) the instruments of reuenge lying before him: For it was a faire Mooneshine night, and the shaddow of the signe he sate vnder, seeme[d] to him to be no lesse then that it came off, the very sworde and buckler that hung ouer his head, vnseene or vnthought off.

Now you Rogues and Raggamuffins (qd. Smug) Ile ticle you yfaith, Ile eene make no more a doe, but take vp my tooles, and to them againe, by Pharoh, by this Sunne that shines, [(]saide hee[)] (and looked vp to the Moone) Ile kill them all, though euery one of them, had as many liues as a Cat: presently stooping to take vp his supposed sword and buckler, hee fell flat on the ground (for his head was so heauy, that when hee had putt it downwards, he could not raise it vp againe for his life.) There lay hee sprauling and groping about, to get his Sword and Buckler into his hands, so long, that hee fell fast a sleepe, and waked not till morning[:] he was fetched home by a couple of his honest neighbours.

How Smug laid a wager with certaine Shoomakers, that he was a shooe-maker, prooued it, and wone the wager.

THree or foure honest good fellowes of the gentlecraft, trauelling together with Sir HVGHES bones at their backs to get worke, passing through EDMONTON, went to an Ale-house (y^e^ very next doore to Oliuer Smugs) to drinke, where when they had sitten a quarter of an houre, or there a bouts, drinking healthes (very kindly and curteously) one to another, and to all good fellowes of their craftes and acquaintance, to make themselues merry, they sung a song in three partes very orderly and well[.]

Smug (as hee was at his worke) hearing them sing so merrily, presently left his worke and went to them againe, bearing in either hand a full Cann of the best liquor.

Heere my old Lads of mettle (quoth hee) heeres to you, and to all good fellow Shoo-makers in Europe, of which number, (for want of a better) I my selfe make one.

VVhy sir (quoth one of them) are you one of the gentle-craft? faith (qd. Smug) I am as I tell you, an honest good fellow, and a shoomaker, and for the loue I beare to all kinde shoomakers, I haue made thus bould to come and drinke with you.

They all (very curteously) welcomed him into their company, and made him sit downe amongst them.

VVhen they had sitten a pretty while together drinking and singing very merrily, one being a mad wag amongst them (aboue all the rest) suspecting Smug to bee (as hee was indeede) a Smith, looked very earnestly vpon him, and about him, to finde something about him that might truely tell him whether hee was as he sayde he was, yea or no.

At last prying very narrowly, he spied his hammer hanging vnderneath his appron, in a great round brasse ring.

Then halfe angrie with Smug, because hee toulde him he was a shooe-maker and was not, hee begann to ieast[,] flout and scoffe at him, shewing to the rest of his fellowes and companions, the hammer that hung vnder his apron.

VVhy (sayd another of them) my honest friend, came you hether to flout vs? wherefore haue you tould vs you are that you are not? VVhy (quoth Smug) what did I tell you that I was? why (quoth hee) you did tell vs you were as wee are, a Shooemaker, I did indeede (quoth Smug) I tould you so, and againe I tell you so, and will make good my worde vpon a wager with the best of you all, agreed (quoth one) what shall the wager be?

VVhy yfaith (quoth Smug) I thinke you doe intend to trauell no farther then this Towne to night, and you say the word the Wager shall bee a shot of fiue shilling to bee spent in sheare drinke: what say you sirs [?] are you contented with it? If you be strike handes and a match.

A match (sayd they) I know (sayd one of them) you are a Townesman, and therefore we shall not need to goe farre for a touch-stone to try you.

Presently came a seruing man into the Ale-house to SMVG, and desired him for Gods sake to giue ouer his drinking and to goe to worke, for his Maisters Horse staid for shooes: VVhat doe you now thinke my Maisters (quoth Smug) you see I am now sent for, and must goe presently to put on a paire of shooes, will you yeeld you haue lost? why looke you heere then my mad bullies, heere's a shooe (pulling a horse shooe out of his pocket) of mine owne making, what say you now? am I a Shoomaker yea or no? A Shoee-maker (quoth one of them) heere is a shooe indeede, but it is a Horse shooe, nay (quoth Smug) ile prooue it to be a Shooe and no Horse shooe, for I made it for Mosse his Mare of ENFIELD, but be it Mares Shooe or Horse shooe, a shooe it is, and I the maker, Ergo, I am a Shoo-maker because I made it.

Therefore come, deliuer your pursses of a fiue shillings peece, or so many small peeces as a mounts to so much, and let vs stand close to our liquor, for I thinke long till I see it.

The shoomakers for all this wold not yeeld they had lost but would needs haue him into the Towne for further triall: But all gaue Iudgement on Smugs side, that hee was a shooe-maker, and had wone the wager. Then the shoo-makers, when they saw there was no remedy, turned backe with Smug to their old hostesse, and paid their losses, with the losse of their wits for that night.

How merrily Smug answered one that gaue him good counsaile.

SMug one day being set in the midst of his merry mates, swaggering and swilling very quicke in carousing and calling in for more, as if he had had Fortunatus his purse in his pocket, was by an honest well gouerned man, that sate by, (and noted his humor) sharpely reprooued, and after reprehension kindly admonisht, with these ensewing verses.

If thou the name, of husband good wouldst haue,
Then toile to get, and getting, getting saue:
For hee, his gettings cannot wisely keepe,
Shall wake withe care, when sauers soundly sleepe.

To which Smug merrily and very readily, made this answer.

Alas good sir, good husbands name,
My dad neare had before me:
For me to ha't then, t'weare a shame,
As long as Kate will scorne me.
(As parson plie-pot, counsells heere)
Ile freely take my liquer,
It makes good bloud, the sight more cleare:
And a dull wit grow quicker.

And so fell to his liquer againe, til (contrarie to his merry answer) it made his quicke wit grow duller: For within one halfe houre or more, he had not one wise word to spare, though he might haue had a Kings ransome for it.

How Smust [sic] was frighted by the Nuns of Chestone, thinking them to be spirits, and how afterward he frighted them by his suddaine appearance

SMug on a time, as he was stealing venison, hearing the Keeper in the Parke, got vp into a tree, to keepe out of sight till hee were past by him, which hee did: Scaping the Keepers eye, and so consequently his hand very hansomely. But sitting there a little while prying and peeping betweene the branches (like an Owle in an Iuy bush) to see if the coast were cleare, he spied the Mother Nun of Chestone, with three or foure young ones, (attired in white long robbes, with railes and tippets, as they vsed to weare) comming towards him with a little bell rung before them, sprinkling holy water, and praying vpon their beades very deuoutly: with all the circumstances of that ceremony they vsed when they receiued a sister into that holy order.

The very sight of these holy creatures, made Smug quiuer, quake, and shake like the leaues of the tree hee sate vpon, for he thought verily they had beene Spirits[,] Furies, Fiends or Hobgoblins, that had come thether a purpose to carry him away for stealing of Venison, but they (poore soules) ment no more

harme to him, then he to them, but past by, not casting so much as a looke vpon him.

VVhen they were past him, his heart (that till then was as heauie as a poore pittifully paind spittlemans) was as light as a Morris dauncers: And very lightly (from knot to knot,) got he from the toppe of the tree, thinking to haue runne to his fellowes that stayed for him: but by that time he was gotten from the bowes to the roote, the Nuns was turned backe again vpon him.

VVhen hee saw there was no way to get from them, suddainely hee stept right before them, and (vppon his knees with a streatcht throate (like an ould bawling broome-man) desired them for Gods sake not to hurt him and he would neuer walke so late a Deare-stealing againe while hee liued, and still he yawled and bawled (with his hands claspt together in very pittifull manner) as though hee would haue rent his winde-pipe.

This good old Nun, so suddainely incountred, by such a roaring raggamuffin, knew not what to do, but ranne as fast from him as ere shee could, and all her young ones after her like so many young ones after the dam, shee run not so fast one way to leaue him, but he run as fast tother waies to leaue her, and to finde out his fellowes. VVhen he had found them, he tould them (in boasting manner) how he met with a company of Spirits in the parke, and they durst not abide the sight of him. Therefore be of good cheare my Maisters (sayd he) if Spirits be affraid to looke vpon mee, and run so fast from me, I hope the sneaking Keeper dares not abide my furie, and so they past on againe to their theeuing pastime.

How Smug, presuming vppon his courage, after this exploite, (frighting, these supposed spirits) would needs go the next euening, againe a Deare stealing: and how deere he paid for it.

THe next euening SMVG and his fellowes went againe a Deare stealing, but it was a deere Deare stealing to him and the rest of his companions, for they had not bene in the Parke

aboue a quarter of an houre priuily peaking about for their prey, but they spyed the Keeper well weaponed with his great mastiue dog at his heeles. Now out-alas [(]sayd the Parson,[)] what shall we doe my maisters? what shall we doe good Bancks, as thou art an honest Miller, and wouldest haue me pray for the for the [*sic*] forgiuenesse of tole-dish sinne, tell me what I shall doe.

VVhy alas good sir Iohn (quoth the Miller,[)] what should I tell you, I know neither what to doe nor say for my selfe, what sayest thou Smug? thou seest we are all in danger: I preethe good Oliuer, as thou louest a good fellow, and good fellowshipe, as thou louest that, thou knowest wee all loue good liquor, giue vs some good counsell, and good Smug be breefe, for thou seest our destruction is at hand.

VVhy alas my Maisters (sayde Smug) what would you haue me say or doe? By Vulcan I protest, I knowe not what to saye to you: I would I were at my Forge, you good Sir Iohn, a sleepe in the bell-frye, and Bancks in his Mill, or I would we were all there, that we might bee as safe as a theefe in the Mill.

As they stood there prating and talking the one to the other, they saw the Keeper comming directly towards them: Oh now Smug, (quoth Sir Iohn) sticke to vs, all my trust is in thee, I prethee good Smug shew thy selfe as valiant now against this keeper, as thou didst against the Spirits, and Hobgoblins thou meetest heere the last night.

If thou beest remembred, thou gauest vs wordes of comfort then, and didest bid vs all be of good cheere, and feare nothing, for thou saidst thou wouldst make the sneaking keeper fly from thee, as fast as thou madst them flie. Now honest Oliuer, be as good as thy word, make them flie and defend vs, and I euen I Sir Iohn your mad-merry Parson, will pray to God for thy health and welfare, as long as I haue a day to drinke in: VVhy content you Sir Iohn (sayde Smug) Ile see what I can doe, go you two and lie close behind that hedge: If I haue but as good lucke against this scuruie keeper, this night as I had against my little long taild-hobgoblins the last night, weele not leaue the Parcke, without that we came

for. They (as Smug tould them) went behind the hedge & left him alone to deale with the keeper: but alas for all his big looks and brauing wordes, the Keeper thwackt him so soundly that hee made him lye sprawling on the ground, and so left him.

VVhen the Miller and the Parson (peeping through the hedge) saw the Keeper gone, and poore Smug lye in such a pittiful case, they went to him, now alas poore Smug (sayd Sir Iohn) how ist? what cheare man? I perceiue your furious lookes could not fright away the Keeper, as it did the Spirits you tould vs of.

Oh Sir Iohn (sayd Smug) this Keeper is a Deuill, hee hath payed me yfaith, and yet all these blowes greeue me not so much Sir Iohn as that you and my neighbour Miller did not stay to take part with me, for you would haue had your share in the venison as deepe as I, and I had thought he had been worse to deale withall then Spirits, the Deuill should haue dealt with him ere I would haue come into his clutches.

Smug had no sooner spoke this word, but the Keeper was vpon them againe, and mightily inraged against them all, gaue the Miller and the Parson as much as hee had giuen SMVG, and sent them all halting home together.

How Smug was reuenged vpon a Barber, (his riuall) that made him kisse his tayle.

AS honest Smug loued (as he loued his life) the societie of his bearded associates, so in like manner, loued hee (sometime) to be mad merry, amongst a mad company of his bare-chind boone companions, his little wanton wagtailes: his sweet and twenties: his pretty pinckineyd pigsnies &c. as hee himselfe vsed commonly to call them.

Amongst all the kinde lasses hee vsed to keepe company withall, one (aboue all) he best loued, and by that one (aboue all) he was least loued: for fine Philippe the Barber had so labored in trimming his best beloued Barbara (for so she was called) that hee when hee came to her, was as welcome as water into a ship, bad newes to a sore greeued person, or the

shaddow of a man to the longing mistris, of a long kept maiden-head.

To be short, one euening Smug went to see his sweet Barbara, but when hee was come where he thought to haue bene kindly welcome, to the house of his best beloued, to his great greife [*sic*] hee found the doores locked, bard, or boulted against him: shee he lookt for, lookt not for him, nor any other at that time: For she (as any kinde whore will be) was content with one at once, and one she had: The Deuill had put the Barber and shee together, and she was very loth that any man should put them a sunder. A good while Smug stood knocking, but no body would stirre to let him in[,] then he went to the window, and there he kept a whewing, and a whistling to raise her, but all would not doe: Then hee fell to knocking with his knockles against the casement, and at last raised the Barber out of Barbaras bed, not in his owne likenesse, but in the likenesse of Barbara his best beloued: for the Barber like a subtile knaue slipt on his bed fellowes peticoate, night raile, & head tire, which became his haire-lesse face, as well as hers it was made for, and so went to the window in Barbaras apparell, he spake Barbaras voice as neare as he could, and past as currantly, with Smug in conference, as could be wisht. After many louing wordes, Smug desired hee might haue a kisse eare he parted, for the Barber (for Barbara, had tould him he might by no meanes be let in at that time)[.]

This kinde he-she, very louingly yeeldes. I preethe sweete Smug, (qd. this fine counterfeit) come busse mee through this broken pane, that I will, yfaith (qd. Smug) with a good will as eare I came from Schoole, or went to the Ale-house: then I preethe sweet Smug (quoth the Barber[)] come smake mee quickely, that I may to bed againe, & to morrow Ile meet thee where thou wilt appoint me: why come sweet heart (qd. Smug) I am ready, and thrust his lips as farre as he could into thorough the broken pane: Against Smugs lips, the Barber instead of his lips turned his A R. his lips I should haue said: Smug smackt, and smackt that sweetly fiue or six times together, ere he could tell what he kist. At last hee perceiued he

was plaid the knaue withall, and by whom: yet in pollicy very patiently put it vp, and with these words tooke his leaue. Farewell sweet Barbara, for the kindnesse thou hast showne me at this time, for all thy former kindnesse, and these sweet kisses, I rest by thee to be commanded, whensoeuer, wheresoeuer, and in whatsoeuer thou pleasest, and so sweet Barbara for a while God be with thee.

To bed went the Barber againe, & Smug, as fast as he could foot it home-wards: as late as he was when he came home, he found all his folkes hard at worke, and a heate in the fire ready to be striken out. Smug presently tooke the yron out of the fire (sparkeling hot) and ran as fast as ere he could, backe againe to Barbaras window, and there very hastily cald for his sweete Barbara: desiring her most heartily to let him haue one busse more, and he'd raise her no more that night: the Barber presently started vp to y^e^ window againe as he had don before, and (as he had done before) set his buttocks close to the broken pane, thinking that Smug (as he had done before[)] would haue kist them: but instead of kissing, or putting his lips too, he put his hissing hot yron to him, and made him fly from the windowe, as fast, as if the great Deuill himselfe, and halfe a dozen little ones had bene at his taile. Now (qd. Smug) my neate trimmer, I haue trimd you about the hips, as wel as you haue trimd me about the lips: as you like this, play the knaue with me another time, and so farewell good plaster-maker, hie the[e] home, & clap a plaister to it quickly, or thou't feele me when thou dost not see me. VVhen Smug had thus reueng'd himselfe vpon his riuall, he left him crying and fretting and went laughing home againe roundly.

How Smug Foxt the fellow that went to cornute him in the Fox chamber.

TWo brothers (young gallants in Edmonton) who had often made them selues merry with Smugs company, had an equall desire to cornute, or in plaine termes, to cuckold honest Smug, oene [*sic*] on that night his wedding day, not so much drawne to it by her beauty (for she was but a homely Smug

lasse) or any part or quality in her, as a desire they had to do him that wrong, and especially vppon that night: priuie strife was betweene them, plotting and contriuing the one to deceiue and preuent the other. Vpon the wedding day, as opor- tunity serued, the elder brother got the bride into a corner, where he spent many perswasiue words to win her to accord to his [(]as he called it) louing request: many of poore Smugs faults and imperfections he layd open, and withall his purse, with very large proffers to drawe her on the more easily: but all could not doe. She lik't neuer y^e^ worse of her Smug (whom she had taken that morning for better, [or] for worse,) for the dispraising of him, nor the better of him for all his large proffers: and therfore wild him to giue ouer his vnhonest suite, and be packing: for she was not a woman (how soeuer she seemed in his eie) of that vnchast disposition. This and many such like answers she made him, as very willing to be rid of him, but could not: for he (scorning to shew a bashfull blush) came vpon her still, after her crosse answers, with a fresh supplie of smooth words, & left her not, till he made her (with the appointment of place & minute) make him promise y^t^ he should haue his desire, but alas y^t^ promise past: not from her heart, for she was of a settled conscience, y^t^ no meanes might mooue her, neither proffer, persõ, or any other inducemẽt whatsoeuer, to proue false to her Oliuer.

VVhen he had thus receiued his answer, and was gone, his yonger brother priuily set vpõ her to the same purpose, and with the answer he had was sent away very pleasant, but his expected pleasure was his paine in y^e^ end. For she as soone as euer they had left her, acquainted her groom or her Bride- groome with their purpose & tould him that ten a clocke was the houre, and the Fore chamber the place appointed, wishing him for that night to lie there alone in her stead, ready to receiue thẽ, or any of them. VVhen Smug vnderstood by his wife (thou[g]h he was almost past vnderstanding) the knaue- rie that was practised against him, after two or three smacking busses & thankes for her kindnesse in telling it, he began to talk to himselfe in this manner: A ha, my little mad Iingle-spurs

would you be nibling? would you yfaith Lads? ile haue a bate shall bate your bouldnes a little, ile fore you yfaith, come to the fore chamber as soone as you will.

To be short, a little before the time appointed, Smug got him to bed in the Fore-chamber against they or one of them should come: about the houre appointed, both the Brothers met in the dauncing roome, or Hall, for they must passe through that to the For[e-chamber,] prepared to performe their promises: but this vnhappy meeting had almost mar'd all for neither of thē durst enter in the other[s] sight.

By and by, before a minute of the prefixed time was past, the younger slipt in whilst the elder stood talking amongst the dauncers, and to bed he went. Hee was no sooner got into his Hostesse (as he thought) but Smug stept out, and with an old dry boot he had (laide ready for that purpose) so be laboured this yong Mutton-monger in his shirt, that he had bene as good haue had a sound whipping as that basting.

A ha [(]quoth Smug,[)] ile fore you yfaith boy, doost thou thinke mine host of the George had a whore to his wife? no thou lecherous Babone, Smug is better liked off in his frize or Sheepe-skin, by his owne smug lasse, then ere a spruce sleeked gallant of you all.

VVhy I preethe good Smug (quoth the youngster) be contented, if I haue made thee a fault, I will make thee amends: Nay alas (qd. Smug) tis no fault, I rather account my selfe, (for the kindenesse you would haue shewen to me) in your debte, but Ile pay you ere you and I part, and about him he layd againe: Then Smug made him slip on his cloathes, & beate him out a doores. VVhen the elder Brother (who all the while he was as he thought) in the Fore chamber with Smugs wife, saw how he was guld by her, and basted by him, hee smilde to himselfe, to thinke how well he was rewarded for his forwradnesse, and how cleanely he himselfe had escaped that scouring.

VVhy how now Brother (said hee) whats the matter? hath your Bed-fellow beate you? is shee such a Deuill? how chance you pleased her no better? please her (quoth he) the

Deuill please her & him to[o], they haue pleased mee[,] a plague on them, but it would haue pleased me better Brother, if you (as it was your desire this euening) had had my place.

VVhy Brother you may see (quoth the elder) what it is to be so forward in seeking to deceiue our elders.

VVell, come Brother, lets goe home and sleepe honestly, for we see whats got by tempting honesty, he has taught thee, and thou hast taught mee to take heede how we enter into any such action againe. Then home they hied them hand in hand, one smiling and iesting, and the tother fretting and chafing, cursing poore Smug, his wife, and the Fore-chamber extreamely.

How Smug being drunke, lost his fellowes in the Parke, and how when they got together by whooping & hollowing, he tooke them for theeues, & would by no meanes know them till he was soundly thawackt by them and made to know his friends from his foes.

ANother time, Smug was fetch'd out of y^e^ Ale-house by sir Iohn, the Miller, and mine host of the George, in such a case as it had bene fitter he should haue gone to bed to sleepe, then to the Parke a Deere-stealing, but drunke as he was they would haue him along with thē, for without him they were no body, he must needs goe, though he could hardly stand alone.

VVell, to y^e^ Parke they got him with what great adoe, consider of the case he was in, & imagine: when they were entred into the Parke, and were ready to enter vppon their businesse, they serued themselues euery one to his appoynted standing, with their weapons for that purpose, as Crosse-bowes, Long-bowes and staues.

Smug he was set (because he was not in case to take a steddy aime) to watch that the Keeper came not vppon them before they were aware, but while they were close at their busines, their centinell (honest Smug) forgetting both where he

was, & also what charge he had taken in hand, went reeling downe y^e^ Parke, cleane out of sight & hearing. VVhen sir Iohn, the Miller, & the mad Host had strooke the stroake, made thē al glad men, & bound their prize vp hansomly together, they went to fetch their centinell, but whē they were come to y^e^ place where they set him, he was not to be found: body of me (qd. sir Iohn) what shall we doe? kinde neighbours and friends, what shal we do? honest Smug with his head full of liquor is gone god knowes whether, I pray Ioue, he be not falne into some of these ditches, y^t^ I hope he is not (qd. mine host) he was wet enough before: why what a mad knaue is this Smug (qd. y^e^ Miller) he is sure asleepe some where, faith then (qd. sir Iohn) we were best giue ouer seeking for him by the eye, & try what we can do by the voice. Then they fell to whooping & hollowing, as loud as they could, that Smug might heare & answer thē: a good while they went whoping & hollowing, but Smugs eare was to[o] far off for their voices to reach, they could by no meanes heare y^e^ answering hollow: the babling Eccho answered euery whoope they made, but Smug not one. So long they walked whopin & hollowing vp & down, that the discouerer of euery bad action, y^e^ morning[,] was ready to discouer theirs, & yet Smugs hollow could not be heard. At last when they had giuen ouer hollowing: and were going without him, they heard him whoop, hush (qd. sir Iohn) I thinke I heare his voice, from whence comes it? masse & I heare it to[o] (qd. mine Host) but from whence I know not. VVhy thē (qd. the Miller) we were best by our hollowing to keepe him hollowing still, and so wee shall come to him Ile warrant you: They did as the Miller counselled them, and within lesse then a quarter of an houre had sight of him.

VVhen they were come neare together, sir Iohn (out of the loue & good will he bare to Smug,[)] stept forward before his fellowes, and with an outstretched arme and smiling countenance would haue imbraced him.

But Smug in his drunken humor (not knowing him to be sir Iohn) nor y^e^ Miller & mine Host that followed him, to be

his old honest familiar copes-mates, tooke him such a knocke ore the pate, that he made M. Parson stagger like himselfe, though their causes were much vnlike. why how now Smug (qd. the fiery fac'd Host) wilt thou fight w^t^ thy friends? friends (qd. Smug) Foot you rogues doe you come to rob me? keep out, keepe out I aduise you, and you meane to go home againe to see your wife & children (if you haue any) keep out, by Pharaoh you all die else.

VVhy I prethee Smug (qd. the Miller) put downe thy weapon, we are all thy friends, I prethee Smug (qd. mine Host) put thy staffe on thy shoulder, and lets go home together, dost thou not know me? come giue me thy hand. That I will (quoth Smug) there, and knockt him ore the pate with his staffe: there's a hand for thee, and still stood striking at them, laying about him like a mad man.

VVhen they saw he would by no faire intreaty come to the knowledge of them, they all layd at him, and well and soundly basted his sides: and by that time they had thwackt him soundly indeed, his wits were come to him.

Then he knew his friends from his foes, and desired them very kindly, (euery man by his name) to hold their hands, and very orderly & well, helped his fellow theeues to beare home their booty.

How Smug was deceiued of his red cap by his wife, and by that deceit forst to leaue his swaggering company, and go with her home to his labour.

AMongst diuers Articles that were agreed vpon betwixt Smug and his wife, to be kept vnuiolated on either part, this was one.

That day that Smug had his red cap on, (which cap he cald his cap of maintenance) he was like a Lord of misrule, to haue rule and dominion ouer his wife, both at home, & abroad, that day he had to spend at his own pleasure: to card, dice, drinke, drab, domineere, and do all that it pleased him to do, without any inturruption, or contradiction. But without that

cap, he might doe nothing, but what stood with her good will and liking.

If any time he were gaming, drinking, domineering &c. without this cap of authority, if his wife came into the place where he was, and did but hold vp her finger, he was presently to giue ouer his company, obey, and follow her home to his businesse.

One morning betimes, Smug was cald frō his worke by a company of true tospots (like himselfe) to go a fore-catching, forth he went with his red cap vpon his head, swaggering, & swearing amongst his most abhominable boone companions, like the captaine of a gally Foist.

First they tasted liquor in one house, then in an other, then an other, and so from house to house, till they had not left an Ale-house in all Edmonton vntasted.

At last whē their braines began to be dizzy, with running so long in this maze of good fellowship, (as one euill leades to another) they went all as wise as Woodcocks to a house of iniquity, and there they dranke and swaggered helter skelter: and to make them leape more the lustily, they sent for a noyse of minstrels, and after that pittifull noise, the treble and the Bagpipe, they daunst all out of measure. One while this creeking musicke would go creeping after them like a tyred follower after his leader, and another while it would run so fast before them, that they were faine to run more then a Lackey pace to ouertake it.

In the midst of this merry pastime, came Smugs wife fretting and chafing into the roome to fetch him home, but he by no meanes would giue ouer his pastime; it was his day, and he would spend it at his pleasure.

VVhen she saw hee was so far in, that hee could hardly be got out, she fell to intreating, desiring him very kindly, to go along home with her, but the more she intreated, the more he stood against her.

VVhy thou confounding Cockatrice (sayd he) dost thou not see my Cap of maintenance, my scarlet couloured Cappe. Am not I to doe my pleasure without checke or controule so

long as this Cap is on my head? away, be gon, or by the life of Pharaoh ile be bumble thee, I tell thee, so long as this Cap is on my head I will not bee crost in mine humor. Then she perceiued it was but a folly to seeke by intreaty to get him home, and yet shee was very loath to leaue him behinde her in that disordered company.

A good while she stood musing with her selfe, what she were best to doe to get him along with her, in vaine she studied not, for her study begat a tricke that effected her will, and that was this.

Shee tooke her man Ralphs gray cap from his head & very hansomely when she saw her husband was busie in talke (and had lost the sence of feeling) she tooke his red cap off, and put the gray cap on in the stead of it.

VVhen she had so done, she plac'd herselfe right before him againe, and held vp her finger (for as is before said) at the holding vp of her finger, he was to fulfill her pleasure, his red cap being from him.

VVhen Smug saw her finger vp againe (little thinking of her subtilitie) he was very angry, and out of his anger said thus vnto her.

How darest thou presume to hould vp thy finger? and see this (poynting to his red cap as he thought) downe with that finger, or Ile set downe finger and body and all, by the life of Pharaoh, now by broad chek'd Bacchus that sweet swilling God of good fellowes, I will, shall I be crost in my humors? if my red cap were at home, & I heere, I would obey thee, but being both heere I will not.

VVhy you are deceiued (qd. shee[)] your red cap is not heere and therefore you must and shall along with mee, look heere, is this your red cap (sayd she) and tooke it frõ his head to shew it [to] him) I pray you looke vpon it well.

VVhen Smug had lookd vpon it well himselfe and had asked the Millers and the merry Priests Iudgment of the colour of his cap, & found it to be a gray cap, he looked as pale as a poore dispairing debtor, at the sight of a Sergeant, or his Cutthroate creditor: and presentlie yeelded, made a low legg, tooke

his leaue of his company as hansomely as he could, and reeld home with his wife, very louingly.

How Smug was taken by the watch, and set in the stockes for abusing of them, and how he kept such a coyle with whooping, and hollowing vnder a sicke womans window, that the Constable was faine to set him at liberty, and glad to be so rid of him.

DRinke and good fellowes, had kept Smug out so late one night, that the VVatch as he walked homewards had him in exammination, both where he had bene and about what businesse.

Smug halfe fusseld, or (as many tearme it) some what rugged, answered euery demaund very crosly, where vppon the watchmen (as men in authority will) taking it for a great presumption that he should answer them so vnhappily, grew very chollericke, and in their heate of anger, stroke him, and heau'd him, and shoued him betweene them, as they would haue shooke him to fitters. But as before this rigorous vsage, he could not well brooke their wordes, he could now well worse brooke their blowes, and therefore resolued as before, he had giuen them one crosse word for another (I and perhaps returned them with the vantage) seeing they were so ready to giue blowes, to giue them blow for blow.

So long as he laid about him with his hāmer, (for y^{t} was his Morglay) that scarce two of halfe a dozen that began with him, would stay to make an end with him. By and by came the Constable with the bloody runnawaies, to beare Smug to the stockes (which stood vnder the Constables window): w^{t} much adoe, they dragd him to them, & with as much adoe got in his legg. VVhen they had thus set him fast, they left him, & euery man returnd to his place againe. Being thus left alone, he fell to singing, to passe away time as merrily in y^{e} stocks, for once as he had done in the Ale-house many a time & oft: He was as well furnished with odde peeces of baudy

ballets and drunken catches as a man of his profession might be: with so roundly trould out as he sate, that the Constables wife was faine to send down her maid, to desire him to sit quietly and hould his tongue: How, hold my tongue (said Smug) no though maister Constable haue a tricke, to force me to hould my leggs still, he wants a tricke to make me hould my tongue still.

But I prethee wench, tell me from whence or from whom comest thou, to bid me hould my tongue? marry (sayd the maide) I dwell heere, you sit vnder the chamber window, where my mistris who (sent me) lyes very sicke: how sicke? (quoth Smug) I prethee tell me lasse who is thy mistris? marry [(]quoth. she[)] the Constables wife, how (sayd Smug) the Constables wife? what his wife that set me heere? I, euen his wife, (qd. the maid) therefore I prethee good fellow be quiet: O I will I will (said Smug) go tell thy mistris I will not sing one song more to disturbe her: I prethee do not good fellow (qd. the maid) and so went vp againe to her mistris, she was scarce in the chamber with her mistris, deliuering his answer, but hee was as loud and farre louder then he was before, though not in the same manner, because of his promise: for he had turnd from bawling, like a ballet singer, to shouting, whooping, and hollowing, like a forrester[.] Such a noise he made as hee sate, with hollowing and whoping, (as if he had bene a hunting) that maister Constables sicke wife, could by no meanes, take a minutes rest by him.

Twice or thrice shee sent her maide downe to him againe to desire him to be quiet: but as often as she sent, he strained himselfe to raise his voice higher[.]

Nay yfaith (qd. Smug) your husband set me heere, I thanke him, and doe you thanke him if I be a trouble to you, for setting me so neare you: blame not me for (yfaith) I must be doing some what to make myselfe merry: when he had thus tould her his minde, he fell to whoping and hollowing againe.

Then she sent for her husband, thinking by his presence to still him, but he being with him, Smug was ten times

worse, then when he was from him (for he playd the knaue so on purpose to crosse him.[)]

VVhen maister Constable saw, that neither faire meanes nor foule, could make him hould his tongue, and that by the noise he made, his wife grew worse & worse, he commanded his beadle, (or some other vnder Officer) to let him out, and dersied [*sic*] him, very kindly, to goe quietly home to his dwelling.

Thus honest Smug by's knauery,
Got's heeles againe at liberty.

How knauishly Smug was dealt with, by three or foure of his fellow drunkards: and how he broke the glasse that shewed him the shaddow of his owne face.

SMug in his time had plaid many mad pranks by many, and one day it was his chaunce to light into the company of three or foure mad consorts, that plaied the knaue as well with him, as euer he had plaid the knaue with any.

VVhen they had spent a fore-noone in quaffing together, and fild him with liquor: (which he was very easily intreated to take) and so full fild him, that he was to[o] heauy to stand or goe, they led him out of the Ale-house into the Church-porch: and there laid him all along on his backe vpon a bench.

Vnder his head, (instead of a Cushion or a Pillowe) they put a Cricket, or a little Ioynt stoole, (such as children vse to sit on in the chimney corner) and vnder his feete, a great rough hewed free stone.

Yet as hard as they laid him, he slept as soundly, as if he had bene laid downe vpon a bed of downe: and laye with such a grace, as few smithes (I can tell you) can ly: for he had vpon his head, his red cap, his cap of maintenance, bottoned vp before, with a faire feather of a peacocks taile in it, bound about with a carnatiõ silke ribben[.] his leather apron turnd roun together, and wound about his middle, his hammer hanging (hanger like) by his side, and both his hands in his pockets.

Thus lay Smug at length, like the Image of Duke Humphry, ouer his long agoe consumed carkas, or his dust earth and ashes.

Had honest Smug (thus lying) bene grated about with some pittifull Epitaph, or a deaths head, and Memento-morie, and his sleepe lasted as long as the sleepe of one of the seauen-sleepers, I am perswaded he would haue had more spectators then the richest monument that stands either in Saint Paules-Church or Westminster.

But to the matter[,] when (as he lay thus) the mad crewe that laid him so, saw hee was as deepe in sleepe as drinke, they began to worke their wils vpon him in this manner.

They got a good handfull of small coales, which they beate to powder, and hauing beate them to powder, put them into a dish of faire water: VVhen they had well mingled (like right daubing painters) their small-coale powder, blacking and water together, and made a perfect coale-blacke, without either size or any such like settling stuffe, they laide it on his face which was reasonable blacke before, not leauing so much white or red to be seene as a small pinnes head will couer.

VVhen they had thus be blacked and besmouched him, with his Deuills looke, they left him (snorting on the Porch-bench) till he should either wake of himselfe, or be waked by the Sexton, or some other kinde of bald-pated Officer.

There he slept soundly three or foure houres without moouing: Till at last with a remooue, that remoued him from the bench to the ground, he waked, and after long stretching, reaching, and yaw[n]ing, got vp vpon his feete.

But alas, when with much adoe he was got vp, hee had as much adoe to stand, yet out of the Church-porch he made a shift to stagger, and vp into the street. VVhen he was there (reeling homewards to his own-house) the boyes at play in the street, spied him[,] at y^e^ first sight halfe afraid of his blacke face, they ran apace away from him, yet at last when a great company of thē were gathered together, they turned to him againe, and followed him close, shouting & crying after him, Deuill, deuill, deuill.

VVhen Smug as druncke as he was, heard them call him Deuill, deuill, deuill, he maruailed much in his mind wherefore they called him so (for alas he knew not) had they called him drunckard, It would neuer haue greeu'd him, for that he knew to be his ordinary title. Still followed the boyes at his heele, crying (as they begun) Deuill, deuill, deuill, throwing old shoees, benes, and pibble stones after him.

So long they followed him, that they made him (whole drunke) halfe mad, yet all he could do he could not mend it: the boyes loued him so well, they would not leaue him till they saw him at his doore.

His wife (busie within) hearing the noise and shoute the boyes made, looked out, and spyed her owne sweete husband in that sweete taking[:] presently shee got him in a doores, and then began (very prittily) to make vse of her tongue to him. After many brabling wordes betweene them, she shewed him a glasse, in which he saw the shaddow of his face in that most pittiful case. Then Smug began to sweare (not like a Smith I can tell you) gogs nownes, foote and nayles thou most abhominable whore, dost thou shew me the Deuill to fright me from that little store of wit which I haue? An thy Deuil were ten deuils, I am not affraid of him, and that thou shalt quickly see: with that he tooke his hammer from his side (still seeing his owne sweet shaddow in the glasse, which he tooke to be the Deuill) strooke at it, and with one blow clattered the glasse all in peices.

Now you whore (sayd hee) where is your deuill now? I thinke I haue mauld him yfaith: bring your Deuills to me dost thou? y^{u} dost whore thou? Alasse sweet Smug (quoth she) seeing him so very much mooued, be patient I preethe sweet chucke, & shewing him the crackt frame: looke heere heere is no Deuill, therefore I preethe sweet Oliuer be quiet.

Nay (quoth Smug) ile ticle your Deuills, yfaith, and your Deuils come to molest me within mine owne house vpon mine owne ground, ile deuill them.

Come good sweet heart (qd. she) now thou hast

beaten the Deuill away let vs goe to bed. After a quarter of an houres fretting, with very good words she got him to bed. In the morning when shee knew his sleepe had made him sober, she shewed him his blacke face againe in another glasse, which when he saw, and knew well what he saw, he blusht, but the best was it could not be seene till his visard was taken off with faire water and soape, then he confest himselfe faultie, promised amends, and went very close to his labour.

How cunningly Smug scaped the Keeper and others that pursued him, and made them run vp and downe from place to place to seeke him in vaine.

SMug & his mad crew of Venison-eaters, one night being at their busines, were suddainely set vpō by their old enemy, the Keeper and two or three more, that after they had taken great paines to get their prey, & bound it by hansomely, ready to beare it away, they were forst to fly & leaue it behind thē for feare of a further mischiefe. The Miller he ran one way, and nimble Sir Iohn in his buckram cassock another way, and Smug another way, as fast as if they had beene traind vp to running all their life time. They had not time to take their leaues one of another, or appoynt a place of meeting.

As these Deere-stealers tooke seuerall waies to run, so the keeper & his consorts, seuered themselues to pursue them, one ran after the Miller, another after sir Iohn, & two or three after Smug, for he was the onely man they looked for, though all of them were knowne to the keeper well enough. The Miller he ran not far ere he was staid with a good pat on the pate: sir Iohns followers followed so close, that he was driuen to leape for his liberty ouer a ditch: ouer he should haue leapt, but indeed a short leape laid him all along in the ditch and so he was staid and taken vp with neuer a dry thred on him: Smug he ran directly homewards, followed at the heeles by the keeper & another, yet they could not ouertake him.

VVhen he was got to Edmonton with running to and fro,

vp one lane and downe another, he got out of y^e^ sight of his pursuers, but it was so late he could no[t] get into any house to hide him, saue his owne, & into that he durst not goe, fearing they would goe thither to seeke him.

A pretty while he stood studdying which way to shift for himselfe, resoluing one while to do this thing, another while that, another while another. At last standing thus in a browne studdy, turning his eyes first one way, then another way, one while vp, another while downe, he spied y^e^ signe of the white horse (not painted vpon a boord, as they vse to be heere in the Citty) but fashioned out of timber, & set gallantly ouer the signe post. Masse (qd. he) I care not greatly if I get vp & bestrid this white horse, and make another S. George heere in Edmonton, Ile do it yfaith, it may be I may sit safer so then any way else, if I do, I do, if I do not I know y^e^ worst on't, tis but wearing two stocks vpon one leg, & I am as well able to indure it now as ere I was. Vp to the white horse he got, & back't him brauely w^t^ his arm stretch'd out, his hammer [in his] hand instead of a sword, and the lippet of his red cap tied vnder his chin, which stood for his helmet most featly.

VVhile he sat thus gallantly strutting vpon his wooden horse (yet no hobby horse) the keeper y^t^ followed him so close to haue gotten him into his keeping (with the tother that was with him) went peaking & preying in euery corner of the street to find him, twice or thrice [( )backward & forward) they went vnder him, & yet could not see him, but he saw them well enough.

VVhen they had lost an houres labor or there abouts, in seeking after him without doores, they resolued another while to seeke him within, come [( )said y^e^ keeper to the other[)] let vs go search the Innes, & first this, this white horse is his dayly haunt, and therefore it may be we shall finde him heere this night[,] com let vs in.

As y^e^ keeper was going into the white horse (vnd[e]r Smug) his fellow looking vp, bad him stay, stay (quoth the keeper) wherfore shold I stay? why looke you (said the other)

this is not the white horse as you take it to be, this is the George, masse (qd. the keeper) tis the George indeed, come, lets ouer to the white horse. VVhen they had crost the way (as they thought to the white horse) they found y^e^ George againe. Zoundes (qd. the keeper[)] Iacke, this is the George too. VVhat haue we two Georges in Edmonton. Foot man where are we? if this be Edmonton, heere was but one George yesterday, & the white horse ouer against it, now heere are two Georges one against another: this is strange, tis very strange indeed (qd. the other) bones man, are we not at Hodsdon, for thou knowest the two georges are in Hodsdõ, masse thou saiest true Iack, & by these signes this should be Hodsdon. Come, come, (qd. the other) we mistook our way in the darke, this is Hodsdon, come lets vp to Edmonton. Content (qd. the keeper) and together they ran as fast as they could to Hodsdon to finde Edmonton.

VVhen Smug who heard all their talke, & sat laughing ready to wray himselfe w^t^ laghter saw them trudging towards Hodsdon, he gat down from his white horse, & went to bed, leauing them in their wilde Goose-chase to seeke him. VVhen they were come to Hodson, there they saw the two Georges too (for there y^e^ signes stood indeed) thẽ they chaf'd, swore & stampt like mad men, cursd poore Smug & his company, and vowed to be the death of him, if ere they could take him hansomely, their they tooke vp their lodging for that night, and the next morning went home to their businesse.

How Smugs wife locked him in a doores, when he would haue gone abroad a swaggering & what shift hee made to get out and amongst them.

SMug one day very early, prepared himselfe to goe abroad (according to promise y^e^ day before) a drinking, & to go hansomly to it, he tricked himselfe vp in his holly day suit, put on a cleane band & his red cap, y^t^ he might go through stitch with his busines, without crosse or controlement, but (alas eene as he was ready to go downe the staires,[)] his wife per-

ceiuing his intent, presently (to crosse him) stept out of the chamber before him, puld the doore after her, & lockt him in, now (said she) & you be hot with anger, walke vp and downe and coole your selfe, if your walke tire you, lie downe and rest you, for you shall rest vpon no ale-bench this day.

This crosse deed, and these cutting words of hers vext him that he was almost in as bad a case with fretting, as he had bin y^e^ day before with drinking, yet he saw there was no remedy but patience, for neither faire words nor foule could make her turne the key to let him out.

From the time he rose, till almost dinner time, he walked vp and downe in his chamber, chafing, fretting and mumbling like poore Tom of Bedlam in his barne or bowsing Inne.

At last to crosse his wife, (as well as she had crost him,[)] he tooke an empty Can that stood by vpon a little table, tyed it to the end of a long string, and put it out at his chamber window, where it hung dangling like the poore mens boxe at Ludgate, & he himselfe like y^e^ bawling box man, stood peeping through his Lattice, crying for the Lords sake, for y^e^ Lords sake good people pitty a poore prisoner, making his can daunce at the end of his whip-cord, with drawing it vp & down as nimbly as one of the little thred Puppits in the lamentable motion of Diues & Lazarus. VVel there he stood in this maner bawling & yawling, till he had drawn as great a company of people together as the babling of a cheating mounte- bancke or y^e^ foule furd throat of an itchy ballad singer in a faire or market time. To conclude when his wife saw such a company of people, men, women & children gathered about him, she (poore wretch) ashamed to heare him, & vext at those y^t^ stood gaping about him, in a chafing heate as she lockt him in, let him out, & was glad to be so rid of him.

How Smug was reuenged on his wife for locking him in a doores

THe day succeeding this vnkind crosse, Smug rose againe very early, and put on working day apparell, with his old

sheepes russet button cap, and went to worke as hard as if he had wrought for a wager, he laboured at the Forge, (but twas to forge a peece of knauery) till his sweaty face reeked againe. All y^e^ day long wrought he thus hard without any stop, stay, or hinderance, nay, which is more to be wondred at, he dranke not aboue thrice all day, & that was but as he vsed to cal it, smal comfort, commonly called smal beere.

His wife to see him worke so close (as she very well might) meruailed, & gaue him as kind words as he could wish for, & swar by the faith of her body, she was glad to see such a suddē alteration. He still plying his work, gaue her good words for her good words very kindely. VVhen his labor had brought on y^e^ euening (which brings an end to labour) he very kindly requested his wife to walke w^t^ him to nip themselues a little in y^e^ euening, for it was a very fine frosty moon-light euening, she very kindly tooke his kinde request, and went with him.

Very louing walked they together, arme in arme, out at townes end, one while this way, and another while y^t^, euē as it pleased him (her most venterous leader) to lead her. They walked thus louingly vp & downe together so long, that there was not candle burning, nor one eye open in all y^e^ Village, then home apace he hyed him, when he was come to the doore, ready to enter, he sent his wife on a sleeueles errand, to y^e^ turning stile to his honest neighbour Noddamus, while the poore womā was about his bidding, mistrusting no knauery to be done against her, he presently turnd the key on the out side to let himselfe in, & on y^e^ inside to locke her out. VVhen she was returned from y^e^ place aforenamed, & found the doore lockt, & the key sticking in y^e^ inside, she knockt, & with her knocking cald, but honest Smug lay snug, & would neither rise to let her in, nor make her any answer. Then she knew not what to doe, but (as women do wanting their wills) sat & cryed to ease her stomacke; his resolution was set to make her sit all that night, to knock her heeles & blow her nailes at the doore, like a poore back-bitten-stal-creeper, neuer did she chatter better with anger, then she did at that time with the

coldnesse of the weather that made her teeth go faster then her tongue.

VVhen she saw y^{t} neithar reasonable knocking, nor vnreasonable calling could raise him, she tooke vp a great flint stone & beate against the doore as though she would haue beat it downe. Then Smug started vp to y^{e} window in his shirt, & very strangely asked who it was kept such a bounsing at the doore? marry good man drunkard (qd. she) it is I that knock, wherefore hast thou lockt me out? Nay first (qd. Smug[)] answer me, wherefore didst thou locke me in? twas so lately don, I am sure thou hast not forgot it, or if thou hast thou seest I haue not.

Thou lokdst me in, I haue lockt thee out,
Good Agnis walke, goe walke about.

So, talke no longer, for I swear by my red cap, & by Bacchus the God of good liquor, I meane to keep thee out all night, as thou kepst me in all day, and so sweet Agnis till betweene seuen and eight in the morning farewell.

To bed went he againe & left her to shift for her selfe til morning: how they agreed when they came together, I know not, but you may iudge she scarce tooke it patiently.

How Smug quarreld with his fellowes, and was ready to fight about the singing of a Catch: and how till they turnd it to his mind, he would not be quieted.

SMug one day being very merry, with his honest swilling associates frõ drinking, fell to singing, & amongst all the od Alehouse catches they had vp, this was one[:] Ile ty my Mare in thy ground: this Ile ty my Mare in thy ground was tost so long to and fro, betweene Smug[,] the Miller & the merry Parson, y^{t} Smug had forgot he was singing a Catch, and began to quarrel with the Parson, thinking verily, he had ment, (as he said in his song) to ty his Mare in his ground: Will you ty your Mare in my ground? (said Smug) the Parson he sung

still, Ile ty my Mare in thy ground: In my ground? (said Smug) still went y^e^ Parson forward with his Catch, Ile ty my Mare in thy ground, &c. Then Smug began to swagger indeed and swore, if he tyed his Mare in his ground, he woulde make his cap and scull cleaue together: besides he would giue his Mare such a drench y^t^ after y^e^ drinke, she should neuer eate more. The Parson seeing Smugs rage increasing, with very good words, intreated him to be patient, & cast away choller for as I am an honest sir Iohn, and a boone companion [I] meant no harme the world: I did but sing the Catche, as the Catch was. But all these kinde words & intreaties, could not win Smug to patience, till M. Parson turnd his song, & himselfe in singing frō him to the Miller: Then they were as good friends as could be, and (in kindnesse) went againe to drinke together till they were all laid to sleepe together.

How Smug being drunke in bed pist vpon his wife through a Cullender instead of a Chamber pot.

LAbouring at y^e^ liquor al day, many times tir'd Smug far worse then his labour at y^e^ forge, as it was often seene by him: but most especially, at this time that I am now to speake of: for at this time he had labord so hatd [*sic*] (& no body blame him) for he cast not frō morning til night y^t^ his legs were not able to beare him to bed: but what he could not do himselfe for himselfe, the helping hands of some kind neighbours & friends did: in bed they laid him and so left him to get that sleeping that he lost waking.

There lay he grunting & growning like a hog in a sty, turning to & fro, from one side of the bed to y^e^ tother: for the liquor wrought so within him y^t^ he could not sleepe as he vs'd to drinke (soundly) for y^e^ life of him. Within halfe an houre after he had lien thus tumbling & tossing, as if he had lien vpon nettles, his wife went to bed to him, to rest her after her (indeed) true labor, but (poore woman) she found lesse rest there thē in her labor: for he kept such a retching and stretching himselfe, such a hunching and punching with his

leggs & elbowes, that she might haue lien better at ease betweene too mad men, then by him in that taking. As he lay thus laboring (laden & ouer laden) with the liquor he had taken y^e^ liquor lay laboring within him for vent: VVhich, though he could very hardly rise to giue it hansomly, yet he did his good will, and reachd out of the bed for a pispot, but instead of a pispot, he tooke a cullender, (that stood close by his bed side vpon a settle) & kneeling vp right in his bed, let his ill-digested liquor run as freely into it, and through it, vpō his (slumbring[)] wife, as a co[n]duite pipe at waste.

She presently (feeling her selfe warme wet) start[ed] vp, & began to brabble with him, and cry shame vpon him for dooing such a beastly deed. VVhy thou whore (qd. Smug[)] wilt thou not giue me leaue to pisse? if thou crosest my humor but with two crosse words more, Ile breake the pisse-pot about the pate of thee, therefore be quiet.

But for al his threatning she wold not hold her tongue y^t^ she kept walking stil, til Smugs fists walked about her eares. There was such a sore battaile in y^e^ bed betweene them as thinke neare was seene betweene bed fellowes before, & had not a candle and a cleane paire of sheetes, beene quickly carried vp to part them, there would haue bin great blood-shed.

II

Of the Mylner That Stale the Nuttes of the Tayler That Stale a Shepe

There was a certayne ryche husbandman in a vyllage, whiche louyd nuttes meruelously well and sette trees of fylberdes and other nutte trees in his orcharde, and norysshed them well all his lyfe; and when he dyed he made his executours to make promyse to bery with him in his graue a bagge of nuttes, or els they sholde not be his executours; which executours, for fere of lesynge of theyre romes (i. e. appointments) fulfylled his mynde and dyd so. It happenyd that, the same nyghte after that he was beryed, there was a mylner in a whyte cote cam to this mannes garden to the entent to stele a bagge of nuttes; and in the

way he met wyth a tayler in a black cote, an vnthrift of hys acquayntance, and shewyd hym hys intent. This tayler lykewise shewyd hym, that he intendyd the same tyme to stele a shepe; and so they bothe there agred to go forwarde euery man seuerally wyth hys purpose; and after that they apoynted to make god chere eche wyth other and to mete agayn in the chyrch porch, and he that cam fyrste to tarye for the other. This mylner, when he had spede of hys nuttys, came furst to the chyrch porch, and there taryed for hys felow, and the mene whyle satte styll there and knakked nuttes. It fortuned that the sexten of the church, because yt was about ix of the cloke, cam to ryng curfue; and whan he lokyd in the porche and sawe one all in whyte knakkynge nuttes he had wente (i. e. weened) it had bene the dede man rysyn owt of hys grave, knakkynge the nuttes that were beryed wyth hym, and ran home agayne in all hast and tolde to a krepyll that was in his house what he had sene. Thys crepyll, thus herynge hym, rebuked the sexten and sayd that yf he were able to go he wolde go thyder and coniure the spyryte. By my trouthe, quod the sexten, and if thou darest do that, I wyll bere the on my neck; and so they bothe agreed. The sexten toke the creple on his nek, and cam in to the chyrchyarde again, and the mylner in the porch seeing one comynge beryng a thynge on his necke had went it had ben the tayler comynge with the shepe, and rose yp to mete them. And as he cam toward them, he askyd and sayd: is he fat, is he fat? The sexten, heryng hym sey so, for fere cast the crepull down and sayd: fatte or lene, take hym as he is; and ranne awaye; and the crepyle by myracle was made hole, and ran away as fast as he or faster. Thys mylner perceyuyng that they were two, and that one ran after an other, thoughte that one had spyed the tayler stelyng the shepe, and that he had ron after hym to haue taken hym; and fearyng that one had spyed hym also stelynge the nuttes, he for feare lefte hys nuttes behynd him; and as secretly as he cowde ran home to hys myll. And anon after that he was gone, the tayler cam wyth the stolen shepe vpon hys necke to the chyrche to seke the mylner; and whan he fownde there the nutte shalys, he supposyd that his felow had ben there and gone home, as he was in dede; wherfore he toke vp the

shepe agayne on his necke, [and] went towarde the myll. But yet durynge this while, the sexten which ranne away went not to hys owne house, but went to the parysh prestys chamber, and shewyd hym how the spyryt of the man was rysen out of hys graue knacking nuttes, as ye haue hard before; wherfore the prest sayd that he wolde go coniure hym. yf the sexten wolde go wyth hym; and so they bothe agreed. The prest dyd on hys syrples and a stole about hys necke, and toke holy water wyth hym, and cam wyth the sexten toward the church; and as sone as he entred in the chyrche yard, the tayler wyth the whyte shepe on his neck intendying, as I before haue shewyd yow, to go downe to the myll, met with them, and had went that the prest in his surples had ben the mylner in his whyte cote, and sayd to hym: by God! I haue hym, I haue hym! meanynge thereby the shepe that he had stolen. The prest, perceyuynge the tayller all in blake and a whyte thynge on his nek, had went it had ben the deuyll beryng away the spyryte of the dede man that was beryed, and ran away as fast as he coude, takyng the way down towarde the myl, and the sexten ronnyng after hym. Thys tayler, seying one folowyng hym, had went that one had folowed the mylner to haue done hym som hurt, and thought he wold folow, if nede were to help the milner; and went forth, tyl he cam to the mill and knocked at the myll dore. The mylner beynge wythin asked who was there. The tayler answeryd and sayd: by God! I haue caught one of them, and made hym sure and tyed hym fast by the legges. But the mylner, heryng him sey that he had hym tyed fast by the legges, had went it had ben the constable, that had taken the tayler for stelyng of the shepe, and had tyed hym by the legges; and ferid that he had come to haue taken hym also for stelynge of the nuttes: wherfore the mylner opened a bak dore, and ran away as fast as he could. The tayler, herynge the backe dore openynge, wente to the other syde of the myll, and there saw the mylner ronnying away, and stode ther a lytyll whyle musyng wyth the shepe on his necke. Then was the parysshe preest and the sexten standynge there vnder the mylhouse hydyng them for fere, and seeing the tayler agayn with the shepe on hys nek, had wende styll it had ben the deuyll wyth the spyryt of the dede man on his nek, and for fere

ran awaye; but because they knew not the grounde well, the prest lepte into a dyche almoste ouer the hed (and) lyke to be drownyde, that he cryed wyth a loude voyce; help, help! Than the tayler lokyd about, and seeing the mylner ronne away and the sexten a nother way, and hearing the preste creye helpe, had went it had ben the constable wyth a great company cryeng for helpe to take him and to bring hym to pryson for stelyng of the shepe: wherfore he threwe down the shepe and ran away another way as fast as he coud: and so euery man was afferd of other wythout cause.

By thys ye may se well, it is foly for any man to fere a thyng to moche, tyll that he se some profe or cause.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Merry Devil of Edmonton

QUARTOS*

The Merry Devil of Edmonton (22 Oct. 1607) 1608

SR 1607 Oct. 22. *Ent. A. Johnson: lic. G. Buck: a plaie called The Merry Devill of Edmonton.*

(a) 1608 [ornament] | THE | MERRY DEVILL | *OF* | EDMONTON. | *As it hath beene sundry times Acted,* | *by his Maiesties Seruants, at the* | *Globe, on the banke-side.* | [ornament] || London | Printed by *Henry Ballard* for *Arthur Iohnson,* dwelling | at the signe of the white-horse in Paules Church | yard, ouer against the great North | doore of Paules. 1608.

HT] [lace ornament] | The merry Deuill | of Edmonton.

RT] *The merry Deuill* | *of Edmonton.*

Collation: 4°, A-F^4, 24 leaves unnumbered.

Title, A2 (A1 blank except for signature 'A', A2^v blank). 'The Prologue' (41 ll. 'Your silence and attention worthy friends,') with HT and initial, A3. Text (not distinguished) on A3^v (F4^v blank).

Catchwords: A-B, Thou C-D, But E-F, To FINIS.

In verse and prose, not divided, with verse prologue.

Note—Copies are known to differ in a few readings, especially on B4^v where a whole line appears to have been added in the course of printing.

Copies: TCC (— A1) Folger (+ A1) Harvard (+ A1) Hunt.

(b) 1612 [ornament and rules] | *THE* [block 2] | MERRY DEVILL | OF | EDMONTON. || As it hath bene sundry times | Acted, hy his Majesties Seruants, | *at the Globe on the Bancke* | *side.* | [lace ornament and rules] | LONDON, | Printed by *Thomas Creede,* for *Arthur Iohnson,* dwel-|ling at the signe of the white Horse, in Paules | Church-yarde, ouer against the great | North doore of Paules. | 1612.

HT] [lace ornament and rules] | The merry Diuell. | of Edmonton.

[Diuell. (*possibly* DiuelI.)]

RT] *The merry Diuell* | *of Edmonton.* [*Deuill* 2 B, 1 C-E]

Collation: 4°, A-F^4 [misprinting E1 as 'G'], 24 leaves unnumbered.

Contents &c. as before (A1 blank?).

Copies: St. John's College, Oxford (— A1) Hunt. (C wrongly perfected)

* For a bibliographical description of the quartos I am indebted to Greg's *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration.*

(c) THE | MERRY DIVEL | OF | EDMONTON. | As it hath
1617 beene sundry times Acted, | *by his Maiesties Seruants, at the* | *Globe on the Banke-side.* | [ornament] | AT LONDON. | Printed by *G. Eld,* for *Arthur Iohnson,* dwel-|ling at the signe of the white-Horse in Paules | Church yard, ouer against the great | North Doore of Paules. | 1617.

HT] [ornament] The merry Deuill | of Edmonton.

RT] *The Merry Diuell* | *of Edmonton.* [*merry Deuill.* 1 AF, 2 B-E; *merry Diuell.* 2 BC, 1 D-F]

Collation &c. as in *(a)* except *FINIS.* (A1 blank?).

Note—Copies are known to differ in a few readings in C(i) and E(o).

COPIES: BM (C. 34. l. 12, —A1) Bodl. (1, —A1|2, edge cropt, B4 def. —A1) TCC (—A1) Folger (2) Hunt. (2)

SR 1624 June 21. *Tr. A. Johnson to F. Faulkner: The Merry Divell of Edmonton.*

(d) [ornament] | The Merry Deuill | *OF* | EDMONTON. || As
1626 it hath been sundry times | *Acted, by his Maiesties* | Seruants, at the Globe on | *the Banke-side.* | [ornament] London printed by *A. M.* for *Francis Falkner,* and | are to be sold at his Shoppe neere vnto S. *Margarites*-hill | in Southwarke. 1626.

HT] [ornament] | *The Merry Diuell of* [Edmonton.

RT] *The merry Deuill* | *of Edmonton.* [*Diuell* 2 AB]

Collation &c. as in *(a)*, but no initial on A3 (A1 blank).

Notes—1. One copy seen (Lambeth) has the original blank leaf, A1.
2. The printer appears from his initials and the ornaments used to have been Augustine Mathewes.

COPIES: BM (C. 34. b. 19, —A1) Dyce (—A1) TCC (—A1) Boston Folger

(e) [ornament] | The Merry Deuill | *OF* | EDMONTON. || As
1631 it hath been sundry times | *Acted, by his Maiesties* | Seruants, at the Globe on | *the Bancke-side.* | [ornament] | LONDON. | ¶ Printed by *T. P.* for *Francis Falkner,* and are to be | sold at his Shoppe neere vnto S. *Margarites*-hill | in Southwarke. 1631. [Seruants,]

HT] [ornament] | *The Merry Deuill of* | Edmonton.

RT] *The merry Deuill* | *of Edmonton.*

Collation &c. as in *(a)* but no initial on A3 (A1 blank).

Note—The printer appears from his initials and the ornament on the title to have been Thomas Purfoot.

COPIES: BM (643. c. 12, —A1 | 161. a. 23, tit. edge cropt, —A1) Bodl. (1, + A1|2, —A1) TCC (—A1) Boston Folger (4) Hunt. Pforz.

SR 1653 Sept. 9. *Ent. (H.) Mosely, among other plays: The Merry Deuill of Edmonton, by Wm. Shakespeare.*

This entry is unrelated to the others; it no doubt concerns a manuscript that Moseley was proposing to print.

SR 1655 Apr. 4. *Tr. wid. of (F.) Falconer to W. Gilbertson: a comedie of The Merry Devill of Edmonton.*

(f) THE | MERRY DEVIL | OF | EDMONTON. || As it hath
1655 been sundry times Acted, by His | Majesties Servants at the Globe on the Bank side. | [woodcut] | *London,* Printed for *William Gilbertson,* and are to be sold at his Shop, at ȝhe | Sign of the Bible in Giltspur-street, without Newgate, 1655.

[ȝhe]

HT] [ornament] | The Merry Devil of | *EDMONTON.*
RT] *The merry Devil* | *of Edmonton.*

Collation and contents as in *(a)* but no initial on A3 (A1 blank).
Catchwords: A-B, *Enter* C-D, But E-F, *Hil.* FINIS.
Description as before.

COPIES: BM (643. c. 13, tit. edge cropt, — A1) Dyce (impt. cropt, B4 sl. def., — A1) TCC (impt. cropt, — A1) Folger (+ A1) Hunt. Morgan (+ A1)

SR 1666 Apr. 18. *Tr. exor. of W. Gilbertson to R. White: The Merry Divill of Edmonton.*

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